

**CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS
IN THE
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON**

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OF THE
INDIAN COLLECTIONS
IN THE
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON

BY
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KEEPER OF INDIAN AND MUHAMMADAN ART
IN THE MUSEUM



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**PART I
GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

VEDIC PERIOD

THE racial elements of the people of India are Dravidian mainly in the South, Mongolian mainly in the East, and Āryan mainly in the North. If we now consider the period 1500–800 B.C. we shall find the Āryans settled in the Pañjāb and in the central Ganges valley, and beyond these areas gradually dominating and subsequently mixing with the other, for the most part darker, races of less warlike character. The culture of the early Āryans is pastoral and warlike: they lived in villages very much like those of modern India. To the priests of these communities are due the early Vedic hymns and ritual. The Vedic hymns are designed to persuade the gods to deal generously with men. They are addressed to the powers of nature: Agni, the spirit of the sacrificial fire; Soma, the spirit of an intoxicating plant used in ritual; Indra, whose activity is manifested in the rain-cloud and lightning; Uṣas, the Dawn; Father Heaven; Mother Earth; Rudra, a fierce divinity of storms and wastes; Sūrya, the Sun, and Viṣṇu, also a solar deity; and some others. From Brihaspati, spirit of prayer, sacrifice and hymn, is developed the masculine personal deity Brahmā, who is regarded as the creator and as the great sage who reveals to men the scriptures, called the Four Vedas. As Svayambhu, the Self-existent, he forms the prototype of the later Viṣṇu or Nārāyaṇa, as Rudra, he is the prototype of Śiva. By the eighth century B.C. the Vedic cult had become a well established orthodoxy with a privileged priesthood.

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UPANIṢADS ¹

The eight centuries following are of far greater importance for the student of Indian philosophy, sociology, and art. The later Vedic hymns already exhibit philosophic tendencies, but the crisis of Indian thought is to be recognized in the Upaniṣads and in Buddhism. Already two very important dogmas have come to be believed—the doctrine of *Karma* or ‘deeds,’ involving the whole idea of causality, and fixing upon each individual the whole responsibility for all the good or evil in his own experience — and the doctrine of *Samsāra*, the sea of life into which beings are born and re-born according to their *karma*. The sea of life embraces not only this world and all forms of life in it, but also all conceivable heavens and personal gods. The cosmic process is conceived as an infinite duration of alternate manifestation and dissolution, each cycle having its own Brahmā, the Demiurge or creator: and the life of such a Brahmā lasts for a hundred years, each day of such a year, the period of a subcycle, lasting for 4,380,000,000 of our solar years. Coördinated with these conceptions is the doctrine of *Mokṣa*, salvation, or release from the conditions of mortality which are inseparable from temporal existence, whether on earth, in heaven, or in hell. Such is the vast background of the life of individual men.

The cardinal doctrine of the Upaniṣads is the unity of all life, the view that the many are, after all, one: and as when the sea is known, the waves of the sea are also known, so when That One is known, its manifold manifestations are known. The name of this Absolute, in the Upaniṣads, is Brahman, a neuter word to be carefully distinguished from the name of the masculine deity Brahmā: another designation of the Absolute is Ātman, or Self. Who or what is That One? The Indian Vedānta, as the coördinated philosophic system constructed from the Upaniṣads by the later philosopher Śaṅkara is called, asserts, in the words of the earliest Upaniṣad, that ‘he’ cannot be known, cannot be regarded as an object of knowledge: whatever one may say thereof, *na iti, na iti*, it is not so, it is not so, since all the pairs of opposites are simultaneously present. The Brahman, for example, is neither good nor evil, though manifested equally in all that we call good and all

¹ See especially, Deussen, K., *Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Edinburgh, 1908; *System of the Vedānta*, Chicago, 1912.

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that we call evil. But again we ask the question where is he to be found ? The answer of the Upaniṣads is based on mystic experience rather than in ratiocination. "That art thou" : in other words, when man looks far and deep into his own consciousness, and takes away from the 'is-ness' or 'such-ness' at the heart of all that is temporal and contingent, there remains nothing — but the Brahman. The self (*ātman*) of the individual stripped of its accidental coverings (including all that distinguishes the soul or ego from other units of consciousness) is the Absolute Self: and in no other way can this Self be known than thus as subject. He who realizes 'I am Brahman,' sees all things in the Self, the Self in all. For Indian philosophers this is 'the truth that makes you free': it is in itself salvation, realized here and now, and for this emancipation they employ the term *mokṣa*, as well as the more familiar *nirvāṇa*, both of which imply the idea of 'release.' For with the removal of the consciousness of plurality, follows the removal of desire, since there is nothing more to be desired by the all-embracing self, nothing, in fact, external to itself. The phenomenal, objective world is seen to be a mere illusion (*māyā*), or mirage, based on the forms of our intellect, by which the world of eternity is contracted and identified into variety. The individual thus released is no longer subject to rebirth: he has returned to the source of life, from which the illusion of manifold experience has separated him only in appearance, and not in reality. For this condition of spiritual freedom we might employ the term 'eternal life,' were it not that in Western usage this would imply a personal immortality and it is precisely from this that the Indian salvation is a release. Many and poetic passages of the Upaniṣads proclaim the joy of this experience. But it is worth while to observe that unlike the Sāṃkhya and Buddhist systems, the ancient Upaniṣads make but occasional references to the painful nature of existence; the fact of liberation from suffering is an indirect result of the deliverance from natural ignorance which is accomplished with the knowledge of the Brahman, and is not put forward as a motive for seeking liberation.

The modernist movement of the Upaniṣad period does not appear to have originated in circles of Brāhmaṇical orthodoxy, but amongst the Kṣātriyas, or secular aristocracy. In the Upaniṣads the new ideas are represented as being communicated to the Brāhmaṇs for the first time by princes or men of the ruling caste. It will be evident that the new doc-

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trines, implying the inefficacy of formal penance, and of ritual, and finding the highest good in personal realization, were opposed to the vested interests of an orthodox priesthood. Notwithstanding this, the Brāhmaṇs eagerly adopted the *ātman* doctrine, and their instinct for organization enabled them to combine it with the ritualistic tradition by means of allegorical interpretations, and attach it to the curricula of their schools. They even laid claim to the new teaching as an exclusive privilege and put forward a knowledge of the rest of the Vedas as a prerequisite for the understanding of the *ātman* doctrine. In this way ritual and philosophy have persisted side by side in Indian life up to the present day. To a certain extent we may draw a parallel between the Vedānta in India and Taoism in China, and between Vedic and social ritual in India, and Confucianism in China: these are respectively the individualistic and social aspects of religion, but they are more intimately interwoven in India than has ever been the case in China. The most complete reconciliation of the two points of view is effected in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, a philosophico-ethical poem included in the *Mahābhārata*, which makes the disinterested fulfilment of function or duty (*dharma*) the normal path of spiritual progress.

It should be observed that the teaching of philosophy was closely bound up with the hermitage, or as Indians speak of it, the forest life (*vanāśrāma*). The authors of particular doctrines acquired fame, pilgrims and pupils came to them, and kings made offerings to them. Their teachings, as a rule, were communicated only to sons or trusted disciples. The very word Upaniṣad appears to signify 'secret teaching.' All instruction at this period was oral and mnemonic: except for commercial purposes, writing was little used or valued in India until a comparatively late period. Even at the present day it is considered that oral instruction is far superior to book-learning in maturing the mind and developing its powers.

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SANNYĀSA AND YOGA

By a natural tendency of human thought, the method of empirical knowledge was immediately applied to the doctrine of spiritual freedom, and being thus brought into the realm of causality, the outward signs of an attainment of the knowledge of the Absolute became the means by which it was hoped that deliverance could be obtained. These means accordingly were designed to produce artificially, or hasten the production of, a state of consciousness not subject to motives, and not deluded by the appearance of plurality. The two methods employed play important parts in the history of Indian culture. *Sannyāsa* is renunciation, accomplished by the practice of *tapas* or asceticism. The latter word implies something much more than penance, something more like effort, work, or glowing. It is by the power acquired by *tapas*, for example, that Brahmā creates the world.

The forest life of the Indian anchorite is not of necessity a celibate institution, but rather simply a state of plain living and high thinking. We might liken the cottage of Thoreau by Walden pond to the Indian hermitage. The forest life takes its place by the side of life in villages and towns in somewhat the same way that a modern university stands (or is supposed to stand) above the conflict of interests of the outer world, and is yet an essential part of the life of any community aspiring to more than merely material comfort. The hermit, however, is not the full Sannyāsin — the true ascetic is the homeless and wandering beggar, the *bhikṣu*, already a well-known figure before the development of Buddhist monasticism, where the idea is familiarly exemplified. Subsequently the ideal life of the Brāhmaṇ was divided into four stages (*aśrāmas*) to be followed in succession — those of the student, householder, hermit, and wandering beggar. The idea is that the whole life should be spent in increasingly austere forms, so that a man being purified from earthly attachments, should be fitted for his true home. A later text points out that nothing should be done by a Brāhmaṇ for the sake of enjoyment. This does not mean that it is wrong to be happy, but that our activity should not be determined by motives of pleasure or pain. As we have already remarked, the *Bhagavad Gītā* teaches the spiritual advantage of disinterested vocational activity (*niṣkāma dharma*): and in the Laws of Manu, the great 'Utopia' of Brāhmaṇ sociologists, the

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reconciliation of the religion of eternity with the conditions of time is carried still further by identifying *tapas* with vocational activity.

The second practical method of seeking deliverance, *Yoga* (meaning Union, literally 'Yoking') is designed and calculated to induce desirable states of consciousness, culminating in perfect experience (*samādhi*), where subject and object are identified, the illusion of plurality disappears, and unity with the Ātman is realized. The method is one mainly of concentrated attention and visualization. Various kinds of self control—tranquility, chastity, poverty and the like—are prerequisite. Importance is also attached to bodily posture (*āsana*) and the place of practice, and to regulation of the breathing (*prāṇāyama*). The well known 'lotus seat' (*padmāsana*), the customary mode of sitting in India, familiar to Europeans in Buddha images, is adopted because it is 'firm and easy' and does not distract the mind from its proper activity. The *Bhagavad Gītā* incidentally describes the practice of the Yogī in a very beautiful way:

Abiding alone in a secret place, without craving and without possessions, he shall take his seat upon a firm seat, neither over-high nor over-low, and with the working of the mind and of the senses held in check, with body, head, and neck maintained in perfect equipoise, looking not round about him, so let him meditate, and thereby reach the peace of the Abyss: and the likeness of one such, who knows the boundless joy that lies beyond the senses and is grasped by intuition, and who swerves not from the truth, is that of a lamp in a windless place that does not flicker.

It is extremely important to observe that *Yoga* is not so much a religion as a method, which can be employed for other purposes than that of directly obtaining mystic experience. Thus, in connection with literature, we find Vālmiki practising *Yoga*-contemplation of his theme before composing the *Rāmāyaṇa* — only when he sees the whole thing in his mind 'as if in real life' or 'as plainly as a nut held in the hand,' does he proceed to dictate, and then he needs a superhuman stenographer in the person of the four-handed Gaṇeśa to take down the poem as fast as he recites it. The work of imagination is completed before the outward signs of it are committed to paper. In the same way *Yoga* is a preparation for even the most practical undertakings — Hanuman ranges the *aśoka* forest in thought before he actually commences his search for Sītā. It will be seen later that the methods of *Yoga* and of the plastic and graphic arts are equally closely related.

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BUDDHISM ¹

Another phase of the spiritual movement which finds expression in the Upaniṣads appears in Buddhism and Jainism.

We have seen how the Vedic worship of natural powers and the sacrificial cult had already by the eighth century B.C. become an established orthodoxy; that the doctrines of causality (*Karma*) and of the sea of life and death (*Samsāra*) had come to be generally accepted; that the doctrine of the Absolute enunciated in the Upaniṣads ("That art thou") and the view of the final inefficacy of ritual was apparently of Kṣatriya origin, and was taught in the forest communities as a secret doctrine, but was early accepted by the orthodox Brāhmaṇs and superadded to the Vedic cult, and finally, very much later elaborated by Śaṅkarācārya in what is known as the philosophy of the Vedānta.

In this age of keen speculation, numerous other movements no less daring in their tendencies originated in extra-Brāhmaṇical circles. Individual teachers arose, with a following of monks and supported by believers, under the patronage of local princes. By far the most important of these individual teachers is the Buddha — that is to say, the Enlightened — of whom we may say with approximate certainty that he was born in 563 and died in 483 B.C. Next in importance to the Buddha is his contemporary Mahāvīra, the Jina, or Conqueror, founder of Jainism, while there are other unorthodox sects, such as the Ājīvikas, of whom our knowledge is comparatively scanty.

The story of Buddha's life is very well known, particularly from the late expanded and edifying version of the *Lalitā Vistara* which forms the basis of the illustrations of the Borobudur reliefs, and was used by Sir Edwin Arnold as the source for his admirable 'Light of Asia.' Here we shall review the bare facts of his life in the briefest possible manner, noticing also only those miraculous features which have a real importance for the student of Buddhist art in its earlier developments. This type of the prince-ascetic is highly characteristic of the East.

Prince Siddhārtha was the heir of a ruling house of the Śākya, whose

¹ See especially under Rhys Davids in Bibliography; also Kern, H., *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896; Oldenberg, H., *Buddha, his life, his doctrine, his order*, London, 1882; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Buddha and the gospel of Buddhism*, London, 1916.

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little kingdom lay between the foothills of Nepal and the modern province of Oudh. His family name was Gautama, hence at a later period he is properly spoken of as Gautama Buddha, to distinguish him from the previous Buddhas of Mahāyāna mythology. Previous to the enlightenment, naturally, like any other Buddha-to-be, Prince Siddhārtha is to be spoken of as a Bodhisattva.

Siddhārtha was brought up in Kapilavastu, a busy provincial capital: he was trained in martial exercises and other knightly accomplishments. It had been prophesied that he would become, either a world-emperor, or a supreme spiritual teacher. Wishing to avoid the latter alternative, his father surrounded him with every luxury — amongst others, three different palaces and gardens, for use in summer and winter and the rainy season; and seeing that the prince had already expressed a desire to become a hermit, married him at the age of sixteen to his beautiful cousin Yaśodharā. Every care was taken to protect the prince from the knowledge of the problem of evil. But the gods are not so easily to be diverted from their purposes. It is true that when the prince went forth, it was ordered that none but the most auspicious and delightful sights should meet his eyes in the city streets. But in fact, he met successively an old man, a sick man, a dead man — and a monk. These are called the Four Signs. 'Shame then on life!' he said, 'since the decay of every living thing is notorious.' All this, of course, is no more than a dramatization of the fact that the prince's mind was directed to the existence of suffering: while the calm demeanour and passionless serenity of the monk suggested to him the path to be followed by those who sought to escape the evils of mortality. Accordingly he approached his father and asked permission to depart: and though the king was forced to grant his request, in fact he doubled the palace guards, seeking to hold his son by force.

Just at this time Yaśodharā bore a son: but the Bodhisattva's resolve was unshaken, and he named his son Rahula, which signifies 'Hindrance.' The same night he accomplished the Great Renunciation: taking only his horse and charioteer he departed in silence at dead of night, while the palace guards were sleeping, and the palace gates were opened by the gods. That is to say, he effected his escape, in spite of the precautions that had been taken by his father. Proceeding to the forest, he severed his long

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locks, put on a hermit's robe, and dismissed his companions. He visited the forest hermitages, and sat at the feet of many Brāhmaṇical teachers, practising Yoga-meditations. Even the doctrine of the Ātman, propounded by Ālāra Kālāma with more or less animistic phraseology, did not attract him. Following this, he practised more severe forms of asceticism for six years, and was reduced to mere skin and bone. Convinced at last that this method also was ineffectual, he adopted the practice of an ordinary wandering monk, and begged his food from house to house, making his home under a forest tree near by Uruvelā. There Sujātā, daughter of a herdsman, one day brought him a very specially prepared bowl of milk rice: after eating, he cast the golden vessel into the stream, and since it floated upwards against the current, he drew the augury that he would attain his purpose that very day.

He took his seat under the Wisdom-tree that night, resolving 'I will not leave this seat until I have attained Supreme Enlightenment.' Then followed the assault of Māra, the Evil one — again, a dramatization of the interior struggle of the hero with the world and the flesh. First of all Māra appeared in the guise of a messenger, praying the Bodhisattva to restore peace and order in his kingdom, which had been usurped by his wicked cousin Devadatta. But the Buddha well understood that one who would find the way, must rather *be* good than *do* good: he refused to intervene. Then Māra, with his demon hosts, assaulted the seated prince with storms of rain and fire and heavy stones and scorching sand: but all these missiles fell at his feet like a rain of heavenly flowers. Then Māra claimed the wisdom-seat for himself, and called his hosts to witness to his right to it. But the Bodhisattva put out his hand, and touched the Earth and called on her to witness, and she came forth and witnessed. Then Māra was abashed. But his three daughters Longing and Desire and Passion came and tempted the Bodhisattva with song and dance, and the sight of their beautiful young bodies: till at last they too gave up their efforts and prayed that the Bodhisattva might attain his goal.

Then he was left alone, and sank into ever deeper and deeper thought, until at last he understood the chain of causation which explains the uprising of evil. The statement of this principle has been called the Buddhist confession of faith:

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Of all things sprung from a cause
The Buddha hath revealed the cause:
Likewise he reveals how each must end.
Such is the word of the Great Sage.

The essential factor of the Enlightenment consisted in perfect realization of the truth that the order of the world is absolutely subject to causality, and of the nature of the chain that links successive causes and effects. For knowing this, one knows how the chain may be broken. And therefore he, who had now become the Buddha, sang in triumph:

Through many divers births I passed
Seeking in vain the builder of the house
But, O framer of houses, thou art found —
Never again shalt thou fashion a house for me!
Broken are all thy beams,
The king-post shattered!
My mind has passed into the stillness of *Nirvāṇa*;
The ending of desire has been attained at last!

Observe incidentally that *Nirvāṇa* is a state of grace, a station of consciousness to be experienced here and now — not a heaven or any place to be reached after death.

There follow upon this experience the 'Seven Weeks,' for the most part occupied in tasting the sweetness of Release and in the formulation of a clear statement of the Good Law (*Dhamma*). The First Sermon, or 'Turning of the Wheel of the Law,' as it is properly described, took place in the Deer Park at Benares — now covered with the remains of the monasteries and memorials erected on the sacred site by pious disciples. In this sermon is taught what is called the Middle Path — middle in the sense that it is neither a way of devotion to pleasure, nor of exaggerated asceticism. The second sermon was delivered five days later, on the Non-existence of the Ego. The third is the Discourse on Fire — every factor of the phenomenal world is on fire with the fire of passion, resentment, and illusion.

By degrees larger and larger numbers of followers attached themselves to the Buddha, and all these together followed the regular life of a wandering friar, who accepts the hospitality of the city in the rainy season, and for the rest of the year wanders from village to village begging his bread. From the age of thirty until eighty the Buddha continued to preach in this fashion, and to obtain more and more adherents, mainly drawn from the

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upper classes, but also to some extent from the populace. Women were admitted to the Order under protest. A considerable body of lay adherents made lavish gifts of gardens and of food, by which the community was supported. It should be recollected that there were other orders of wandering monks who followed a similar rule, and some of these were the Buddha's specific opponents. But he seems never to have come to close quarters with any well-qualified exponent of the Upaniṣad doctrine of the Absolute.

At last the time came for the death of the Master. Almost his final words addressed to his favorite disciple Ānanda exhorted the community as follows:

Therefore, O Ānanda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge to yourselves. Hold fast to the Truth as a lamp.

The younger disciples were distracted by grief, and particularly Ānanda. But

“Have I not already, on former occasions,” said the Buddha, “told you that it is in the very nature of all things most near and dear to us that we must divide ourselves from them? How then, Ānanda, can this be possible — whereas anything whatever born and organized contains within itself the necessity of dissolution — how then can it be possible that such a being should not be dissolved? No such condition can exist.”

This is the form of Buddhist consolation, and after the death — technically spoken of as Parinirvāṇa, or Unqualified Release — has taken place, it is the elder disciples, the Arahats, who are calm and collected and remonstrate with the passionately grieving younger members, in identical phrases. After the death the body was cremated in accordance with Indian custom, and the ashes divided into eight portions, over each of which a mound was erected.

In this life the four chief episodes represented in art are either the Conception, Nativity or Great Renunciation; the Great Enlightenment; the First Sermon; and the Full Release. These, with four others, viz., the Descent from Heaven, the great Miracle at Śrāvastī, the Taming of the Maddened Elephant, and the Offering by the Monkey, complete the ‘Eight Great Miracles.’ The sites of these events, where memorial monuments (*caityas*) must have been very soon erected, became renowned places of pilgrimage: and it is most likely that the very beginnings of Buddhist art are to be recognized in formal symbols stamped on tokens or medals carried away by pilgrims as memorials of their visits to the sacred sites.

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The particular symbols employed had reference to the event on account of which the site was respected.¹

We have seen that the doctrine of causes — in other words, a belief in the invariability of natural law — formed the foundation of the Buddha's teaching, and that the importance of this doctrine, from the practical Buddhist point of view, is the fact that, when the origin of evil is thus understood, the way of escape is found. It will be seen that the Buddhist psychology is devised as a means to an end, whereas the Upaniṣads rather sought to state an experience already realized. The chain of causation is the diagnosis of Evil, and states in effect that the final source of our suffering (as of our whole temporal experience) is to be recognized in Ignorance: not, that is to say, lack of knowledge of art or science, but ignorance of the true nature of life. From such ignorance arises the false belief in the Self, Soul or Ego as an entity, where in truth there is only a process, a succession of instants of consciousness: from belief in the Ego arises the Will to Life or to continue living, and this is the cause of life and its continuation. The whole is a vicious circle: for the conditions that maintain Ignorance are Desire and the concept of I and Mine, with all its implications of selfishness and superstition.

The way of escape is set forth in the mental and moral discipline of the monk, who seeks for Sanctity (*Arahatta*), practically identical with the Buddha's own Nirvāṇa or Release-in-this-life, and ending with Full Release (*Parinirvāṇa*), without return after death.

For the destruction of Ignorance let us realize the facts about life. The most obvious of these, from the Buddhist point of view, is the fact that Life and Suffering are inseparable. It is true there are also Pleasures, but there is no way of escape, inside of conditioned existence, from suffering. It is in the nature of our mortality to be subject to old age, sickness, death, and all kinds of distress. This very fact of *Dukkha*, or evil, is the *raison d'être* of Buddhism: it is the first of the three outstanding characteristics of life.

The second inexorable truth is that of Transience, *Anicca*: 'change and decay in all around I see' — and this is not only true of inanimate objects, but of every human individual or personal god. 'The life of a living being lasts only for the duration of one thought.' We exist only in the present:

¹ Foucher, A., *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, London, 1918.

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what we call the identity of our ego is merely the continuity of an endless succession of instants of consciousness. The process of becoming never ceases — nothing *is*. And this is the third inexorable Truth—*Anattā*, Non-self, the non-existence of anything like a soul or ego in any living thing. The form of a thing is a purely artificial concept: there is no such thing as a thing — it has changed before you can utter its name: and mental states are phenomena just like other phenomena. He who realizes this will not be anxious for the morrow — not even the morrow of death, for that which has never existed cannot be annihilated.

Although the gospel of early Buddhism was preached to all and openly, it was not supposed that the householder could, as such, do more than set his feet on the path: the Buddha, like other teachers of his day, established an order (*Saṅgha*) of monks, intended for the higher men who desired to attain to Sanctity (*Arahatta*) in this life and Full Release at death. The Order of Monks, in fact, is the central institution of Buddhism.

One term employed in Buddhism, though not in Buddhism alone, we must make further reference to. This is *Nirvāṇa*, the Dying Out, which is the end and aim of Buddhist discipline. The 'dying out' refers ethically to the dying of the fires of passion, resentment, and illusion; and metaphysically to the cessation of becoming. There is no question of the annihilation of the soul, on the one hand, or of immortality on the other — salvation, release, is a thing to be attained here and now, and as Jacob Behmen expresses it, the 'soul' goes nowhere after death where it is not already. Only for those who do not attain to Sanctity in this life and Full Release at death, is there question of future births within the sea of life and death — in heaven, in hell or on earth according to *Karma*. For those who are set free — there is the cool and blessed condition of freedom. But Buddha declines to discuss the nature of the Great Freedom —

"I have not revealed that the saint exists after death, nor that he does not exist; nor that he at once exists and does not exist; nor that he neither exists nor does not exist after death. And why have I not revealed these things? Because this is not edifying, nor connected with the essence of the Law, nor does it tend to turning of the will, nor to cessation, rest, the higher powers, to supreme wisdom, nor to *Nirvāṇa*."

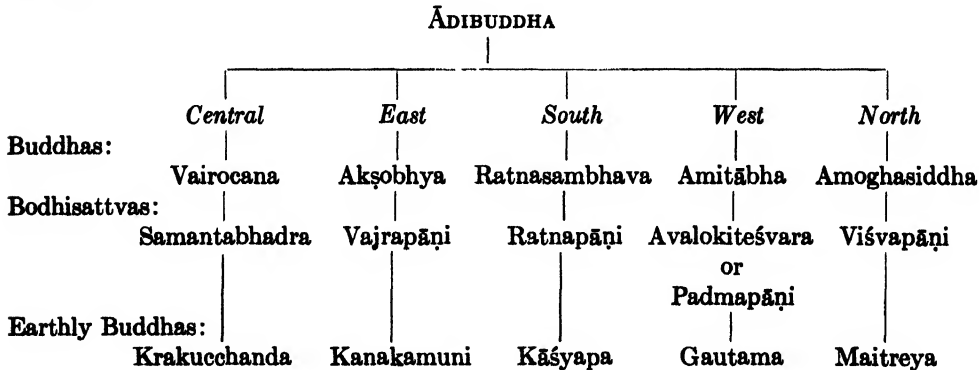
"Only," he says elsewhere, "for him who has disappeared, gone out and cannot be registered, there is no form; when all conditions are cut off, all matter for discussion is also cut off."

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As the fiery sparks from the forge are one by-one extinguished,
And no one knows where they have gone.
So it is with those who have attained to Full Release
Who have crossed the flood of desire,
Who have entered upon the calm delight;
Of these no trace remains.

The psychology of early Buddhism provides no place for worship of any personal god — the brethren are exhorted, 'Be ye lamps unto yourselves.' The Buddha himself has gone out — he does not belong any more to the world of conditions. Of the Absolute Brahman the Buddha makes no mention anywhere: but the Olympian gods of the Hindus — Brahmā, Indra, and their fellows—he treats with perfect logic as still, like men, awaiting release; they too must attain to Freedom by their own efforts. Primitive Buddhism neither needed nor created any expression in art.

A later development of Buddhism is known as the Mahāyāna or 'greater vehicle.' This development is no longer purely psychological, but theistic, devotional, and mystical. The Buddha becomes a personification or manifestation of the Absolute: and the ideal of future Buddhahood takes precedence of that of Arahatta, or present sanctity. The number of Bodhisattvas — originally including only Maitreya, the 'next Buddha' — is greatly increased, and each assumes a great variety of forms, in different phases of activity. With these are associated a host of Tārās or feminine divinities of equal rank. Prayer is offered as though to saints, and a vast pantheon is created, in which the Buddhas and leading Bodhisattvas are grouped as follows:



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JAINISM ¹

From correspondences in Jain and Buddhist tradition it is practically certain that Mahāvīra, otherwise called Vardhamāna (Jñātiputra) is identical with the Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta who is referred to in Buddhist texts as the leader of a rival sect in the time of the Buddha himself. Thus the founder of Jainism, like the Buddha, taught in the sixth century B.C.²

What he taught, and the manner of his teaching, also closely paralleled the doctrine and ministry of Buddha. Jainism is essentially an ethical philosophy intended for ascetics, the Nigaṇṭhas, "Freed of all Bonds," who leave the world to dedicate their whole lives to the search for truth, and its proclamation. They practised a more severely ascetic rule than that of the Buddhists. As in Buddhism, however, there was also recognized a laity, who without renouncing the world, still adhered to the Jain doctrines, and supported the Jain mendicants. The members of the lay community, if they could not reach the highest goal, could still walk on the path towards it.

Though retaining one and the same body of doctrine, the Jain community as a whole was early divided into two parts, the Digambaras, "Clothed with the sky," whose ascetics wear no clothing whatever, and the Śvetambaras, who are "Clothed in white," and who alone possess an order of nuns. The Jaina teaching, like the Buddhist, takes for granted the Brāhmaṇ doctrines of *Karma* (Deeds, causality) and *Samsāra* (The Ocean of Life and Death). Its highest goal is *Nirvāṇa* or *Mokṣa*, the setting free of the individual from the *Samsāra*. The means to this end are the three Jewels of Right Knowledge, Right Faith, and Right Walk. Just what the Buddha is to the Buddhists — originally a man like other men, who nevertheless by his own power has attained omniscience and freedom, and out of pity for suffering mankind teaches to them the way of salvation which he has found — that is the Jina to the Jains. The Jina, the Conqueror, is variously known as Kevalin (Omniscient), Buddha (Enlightened), Mukta (Delivered), Siddha (Perfected), Arahāt (Adept), and Tīrthakara, "the Finder of the Ford" by which to cross the Ocean of Rebirth. The

¹ See especially, Nahar, P. C. and Ghosh, K., *Epitome of Jainism*, Calcutta, 1917.

² For the details of the legend of the life of Mahāvīra, see section of the Catalogue dealing with Jaina Painting.

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last title alone is peculiar to the Jains, all the others belonging to the common usage of Brāhman and Buddhists as well as Jains.

The cardinal doctrines of Jainism may be enunciated as follows: Human personality is dual, spiritual and physical; man has free will, and is himself alone responsible for all that is good or bad in his life; the human soul may control and be freed from its physical entanglement, becoming an Arahāt in the world, and a Siddha in *Nirvāṇa*, enjoying then its true form of being and possessed of the four infinite powers; and those Siddhas "who have revealed the broad fording-place of virtue" are called Tīrthakaras (Finders of the Ford). But just as in Buddhism, the Jina, who is at first a mere man, is subsequently deified and becomes the object of a devotional cult.¹

It will be seen that this system differs from that of Upaniṣads in its dualism, and from Buddhism in its acceptance of the idea of the soul. It resembles the Sāṅkhya in its dualism, and Buddhism, both in its establishment of a monastic order, and in its attitude towards the lesser gods, with a rejection of the idea of a Supreme Creator. Like all other Indian religions, it has for its end the spiritual freedom and perfection of every individual.

While the Buddhist community no longer exists in India, except in Nepal and Ceylon, but is represented throughout Eastern Asia, the Jains have survived in India to the present day, but have not established adherents abroad. The Jains are to be met with in nearly every large Indian town, chiefly amongst the merchants. They have been politically, and are still economically powerful. To them the architectural splendor of many of the cities of Western India is largely due, as likewise, that of the great temple cities of Śatruñjaya and Gīrnār, and the beautiful temples at Mount Ābū. They now occupy an important position chiefly in Gūjarāt, Rājputāna and the Pañjāb, and also in Kanara.

¹ It was, I think, first pointed out by Jacobi (*Gaina Sutras*, S.B.E. Vol. XXII, p. xxi) that the impulse to image worship equally amongst Buddhists and Jainas must have originated in the lay community and results from the experience and doctrine of Bhakti, or devotion.

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BRĀHMANICAL THEISM (HINDUISM) ¹

The tendency of the Upaniṣads, just as of Buddhism and Jainism, is to relegate the older gods (*devas*) and their heavens to a subordinate position — heaven may be a pleasant resting place, but neither for gods nor men does it imply a state of spiritual freedom. Heaven belongs to the sphere of conditions and desires, it is part of the cycle of mortality. The Upaniṣads and Buddhism on the other hand present an atmosphere too cold and abstract to satisfy the religious emotions of the majority, and in their real intention are scarcely comprehensible by untrained minds. This is a situation that finds its natural expression in the creation of new gods, and this is accomplished partly by the development of certain of the less conspicuous Vedic deities and of theistic elements in the Upaniṣads, and by the adoption, or combination with these, of popular non-Āryan divinities not previously accorded recognition. The two great Gods of mediæval and modern Hinduism, each of whom is regarded by the worshipper, according to his allegiance, as the Supreme Being (*Īśvara*), are Viṣṇu and Śiva, their followers being designated as Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas. Ranking in importance with the cults of Viṣṇu and Śiva is that of Devī, 'the goddess,' *par excellence*; in one view, the feminine 'power' (*śakti*) of Śiva, but also regarded as herself the Supreme Being. Each of these concepts of a supreme divinity has numerous forms and activities, and a corresponding multiplicity of names: the most important of the names of Viṣṇu being Vāsudeva, Hari, Nārāyaṇa, Bhagavata; of Śiva, Mahādeva, Maheśvara, Nīlakaṇṭha, Hara, Śaṁkara, Naṭarājā, Bhairava; and of Devī, Umā, Durgā, Pārvatī, Śivakāmī, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Cāmuṇḍā.

Vaiṣṇava cults

The history of Indian Vaiṣṇavism may be briefly summarized as follows: Vāsudeva, whose cult was already prominent in the fourth century B.C., was probably, like Buddha and Mahāvīra and many of the authors of the Ātman doctrine, a man of the Kṣātriya class, subsequently deified and identified with Nārāyaṇa (Hari or Viṣṇu) and called Bhagavata, the wor-

¹ See especially, Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and minor religious systems*, Strassburg, 1913; Pope, G. V., *The Tīruvāṇṇam of Mānikka Vāṇagar*, Oxford, 1900; Macnicol, N., *Indian Theism*, Oxford, 1915.

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shipful or Adorable. He was also identified with Kṛṣṇa, the Vedic sage who plays an important part in the *Mahābhārata*; and later with Gopāla Kṛṣṇa, the cowherd divinity of the Abhīras. Followers of the cult in early times are called Bhāgavatas, and the cult is known as *Ekāntika dharma*, the Religion of Devotion to One.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki in its final form is recast in a Vaiṣṇava sense; but notwithstanding that Rāma is described as an incarnation of Viṣṇu there is not implied a special cult of the sort that inspires the later *Rāmāyaṇa* of Tulsī Dās. In the *Mahābhārata* Viṣṇu is the supreme God (Īśvara), the creator, the internal soul of all souls: "Those who are devoted to Me and enter into Me are released." As in Buddhism, there is a repudiation of the slaughter of animals, of sacrificial ritual and of mortification, but the doctrine of devotion (*bhakti*) is peculiar, and of supreme importance in the future development of religion and art.

This doctrine of *bhakti* or devotion finds its first and clearest expression in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, a philosophic poem included in the larger of the two great Indian epics. This is perhaps the most important single document for the understanding of Indian religion, and though a formally Vaiṣṇava work, has the widest acceptance in India in all circles. The scene is laid on the field of battle, at the moment when hostilities are about to commence: Kṛṣṇa is acting as the charioteer of Arjuna, and the latter, although of the knightly caste, raises humanitarian objections to the slaughter of fellow-men for the sake of empire or possessions, very much in the sense of a modern pacifist. The reply of Kṛṣṇa is intended to effect a reconciliation of the doctrine of the Absolute with the theory of social obligation, to combine the Vedānta with *dharma* (social morality, duty, function) in a single concept. This is a righteous war, he says: Arjuna should not be deterred from the performance of necessary action by mere pity — and offers this consolation for the spectacle of sufferings, that all phenomenal lives are merely forms of one essential energy.

He who regardeth This as slayer, he who thinks of This as slain, are alike without discernment . . . this unborn everlasting abiding Ancient is not slain when the body is slain.

This is not, of course, to be interpreted as meaning immortality of the individual, ego: body and soul are subject to change and decay, but the spirit identical in all is 'not so.'

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Arjuna enquires whether meditation on the Absolute and abstention from action are not superior to activity, and Kṛṣṇa replies by saying that both methods rightly understood lead to the same end. He whose work is not undertaken with a view to its results — the result is no concern of ours, for, as Whitman says, battles are lost in the same spirit in which they are won — does not add to the sum of his mortality by the work he undertakes: for him who hates not and desires not, a merely formal inactivity is altogether lacking in moral value. To fulfill one's vocation (*dharma*), to do that which one's hand finds to do, is the guiding principle of daily life. Nor ought we to regard any one activity as superior in kind to any other, regardless of the actor — only the appropriate activity is best. And this unattachment to the fruit of works may be attained, says Kṛṣṇa, by offering thy work, whatever it be, to Me; the 'unshown way' of those who strive directly for the Absolute is 'exceeding hard,' but "all those who turn to Me, be they even women, traders, serfs or doers of evil, and much more so Brāhmaṇs or anchorites," reach the supreme goal; "I lift them up speedily from the sea of mortality." And who is Kṛṣṇa? "I am the Self inwardly dwelling in all born beings, the Beginning and the Middle and the End of born beings am I. Of the gods I am Viṣṇu, of the luminaries I am the Sun: I am Life and I am Death: all this Universe is strung on Me as rows of gems upon a thread. But men of little wit, seeing Me concealed beneath the veil of multiplicity, think that I have come from the unshown to the shown state; they know Me only in my lower nature of manifestation, not, as I am, birthless and unchanging. But those who strive for spiritual freedom know that I am Brahman."

The identification of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa with Gopāla Kṛṣṇa took place about the beginning of the Christian era. Sculptures illustrating the *enfances* are extant from the Gupta period onwards. The Kṛṣṇa legends are given in the *Harivaṁśa*, *Vayu Purāṇa* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. The Gupta princes of the fourth and fifth century were Bhāgavatas. From this time onwards all aspects of the Vaiṣṇava cult are represented in sculpture and inscriptions.

A new Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* movement originated in Southern India about the eleventh century, when the songs of the twelve Vaiṣṇava Ālvārs were grouped together by Śrī Nātha Muni in the *Nālāyira Prabandham*. Rāmā-

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nuja at the same time put forward a devotional and metaphysical system, with Nārāyaṇa as the supreme divinity. This is a form of modified monism (*viśiṣṭādvaita*), contrasting with the uncompromising monism (*advaita*) of Śaṅkarācārya. The rudiments of soul and matter are present in God, conceived as a composite personality; and the world is therefore a real development, and not a mere mirage. The freed soul is in full communion with, but not identical with God. Rāmānuja identifies *bhakti* with the Aupaniṣadic *upāsana* or meditation—that is to say he identifies love with understanding.

The doctrine of incarnation (*vibhāva* or incarnate manifestation) is characteristic of the Vaiṣṇava cults but not exclusive to them. Ten descents or *avatārs* of Viṣṇu are usually recognized, of which by far the most important from the standpoint of the student of religion or art are Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. It may be remarked here that the icon or cult image is also to be regarded as an incarnation or manifestation of the divinity, who “deigns to descend with His immaterial or spiritual Person into any material substance as may be lovingly chosen by His votary, lending himself to the sweet will of His worshipper in all details of service.”¹ The absorption of Buddhism into Hindu theology is marked by the recognition of the Buddha as one of the ten *avatārs* of Viṣṇu, which had taken place in the ninth century or earlier.

In the twelfth century Nimbārka, another southern Brāhmaṇ, but living at Brndāban near Mathurā, propounded a similar system which asserts that God, as pure existence, intelligence and bliss, is as such developed in the whole universe; but unlike Rāmānuja, he particularized the love of God in the adoration of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. Nimbārka also differs from Rāmānuja in laying stress upon the original meaning of *bhakti* as passionate devotion, rather than meditation. Mediæval northern Vaiṣṇavism is essentially emotional, and its art essentially lyrical. In both Rāmānuja’s and Nimbārka’s systems, which are at once pantheistic and theistic, ascribing to God both immanence and personality, there exists an explicit opposition to the strict idealism and the *māyā* doctrine of Śaṅkarācārya: their God is a composite personality, whose body consists of the world and individual souls. The universe is a theophany, and not a mere mirage. This concept of theophany forms the intellectual background of the entire development

¹ Govindācārya Svāmin, *Yatīndra-mata Dīptikā*, pp. 154–155.

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of mediæval Vaiṣṇavism, and is presented very clearly even in the work of so modern an author as Rabindranath Tagore. It is the explanation or necessity of mediæval Vaiṣṇava art, which is rather imagist than allegorical. In imagist art things are what they suggest, while allegory, however appropriate, is always arbitrary: to understand the *Kṛṣṇa Līlā* as an allegory is to misunderstand it, since it is neither fanciful nor pseudo-historical, but a drama perpetually enacted in the heart of every *bhakta* or votary. The cult of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is the inspiring motif of innumerable mediæval vernacular poets, in particular of Vidyāpati, Umāpati and Caṇḍīdāsa in the fifteenth century, of Rājput painting in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and of popular songs and mystery plays. The leading vernacular writers on rhetoric — especially Keśava Dās (fl. 1580–1610) — also draw their examples from the loves of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa. The poetry and painting are inseparably connected, and so closely share the common inspiration that each completely illustrates the other.

Vallabha and Caitanya are two great propagators of the cult, the former a Southern Brāhmaṇ living in Bṛndāban and Mathurā, emphasizing the ceremonial side and inculcating the worship of Kṛṣṇa in the form of Śrī Nātha-jī, the latter in Bengal emphasizing the emotional side, turning the hearts of men to the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa by the fervent singing of devotional songs.

The cult of Rāma had meanwhile been firmly established by a vernacular teacher of the name of Rāmānanda (b. about 1300 A.D.). Through his numerous pupils the worship of Rāma spread all over Northern India and successfully competed with that of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa. His most famous disciple Kabīr (fifteenth century) is a revolutionary and unsectarian mystic, perhaps as much a Sufī (he was brought up as a Muḥammadan weaver) as a Hindu. His god is Rāma, his system definitely dualistic and devotional: he particularly regarded the distinction of castes and races as unreal, and condemned the mythology, rites, and ceremonies of orthodox Brāhmaṇism.

In contrast to the sectarian form of other Vaiṣṇava poets, the mysticism of Kabīr is indeterminate and universal — “See thou everything as thine own dwelling place” — “Have you not heard the tune which the unstruck music is playing? In the midst of the chamber the harp of joy is gently and sweetly played: and where is the need of going without to hear it?” —

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“The river and its waves are one surf — where is the difference between the river and its waves . . . because it has been named as wave, shall it no longer be considered water?” — “All the men and women of the world are His living forms” — and “More than all else do I cherish at heart that love which makes me to live a limitless life in this world.” Here and now the way is open to ‘become what we are,’ remaining true to the earth, and making of love and renunciation one experience.

It may be noted here that mysticism is always to be spoken of in its strict and metaphysical sense, as denoting experience of unified (*yukta*) life: this experience corresponds in the domain of feeling or vision to the intellectual position of the monistic philosopher, who also believes in one reality, but may not as a mystic have had experience of it. The incidental phenomena of occultism — hypnosis, telepathy, magic, and so forth — which the romantic west associates with the ‘mysterious and mystical East’ have but a minor importance for the student of Indian culture — all this belongs to the domain of the anthropologist, rather than to the philosopher or artist. There is no other secret doctrine than this, that ‘That art thou,’ which means that the kingdom of Heaven is within you: or as Kabīr expresses it, ‘He makes the inner and the outer world to be indivisibly one.’ To realize this — not merely, of course, to yield a purely intellectual assent — is actually to experience eternal life.

A third great exponent of the cult of Rāma is the poet Tulsi Dās (1532–1623 A.D.), author of a vernacular version of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which has been called, with reason, the Bible of Hindustān.

Saiva cults

In the Vedas, the word Śiva is an epithet of Rudra, a deity of the storms and wilder forces of nature, also identified with Agni (fire) and with the Earth and the Winds. In the Paurāṇic period Śiva has become a name of the Supreme Being, his followers being spoken of as Śaivas. The deity, however, who is thus regarded as a Supreme God and is said to be the soul of the universe, is not merely the old Vedic Rudra, but a synthesis of many concepts, philosophical and popular. As the Supreme Being all activities are his: but in so far as his character is special, he is still a god of destructive powers. He wanders through the world as a naked and

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penniless ascetic; he plays on musical instruments and dances in ecstasy; his locks are long and tangled, his body is smeared with ashes; he behaves like a madman, and dallies with the daughters and wives of the sages. His wife is Umā, daughter of Dakṣa: but because of his disreputable character and lack of social position he is not invited to visit his father-in-law — from which we understand that the Śiva of the people, like the popular goddesses, was only with difficulty admitted to a place in the Brāhmanical pantheon. The earliest (non-Āryan) Śaiva sects are worshippers of the *liṅgam* or phallus, and this erect pillar remains to the last the principal symbol of Śiva, set up as the immovable image in the main shrines of Śaiva temples. With Śiva are commonly associated not only the goddess Umā or Pārvatī, but also their two sons Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya, and Nandi, the bull, his vehicle; these five together constitute a family group, often with the addition of the tiger upon which the goddess rides.

Mediæval Śaiva sects fall into two main groups, that of the Pāśupata Śaivas and that of the Āgamic Śaivas. In the Śaiva systems based on the Sanskrit *Āgamas* there are recognized three categories: Pati or Paśupati, the Lord; Paśu, the flock; Pāsa, the bond. The latter is threefold, consisting of *Āṇava*, ignorance; *Karma*, the being subject to causality; and *Māyā*, delusion, the material force of the visible world. Identity with Śiva results when all fetters are removed. The means of creation is the Śakti or Energy of Śiva, merged in his being or again associated with him as Umā or Pārvatī: she is the cause of the bondage of all beings (i.e., the awakening of the soul to finite experience) and of their release. Consciousness is everywhere present, perfect in Śiva and in liberated souls, but obscured and unshown in those who are not yet set free.

It should be observed that Devī, the Goddess, here alluded to as the Śakti or Energy, or more popularly, the consort and wife of Śiva, is worshipped independently as the Supreme Deity by those of the Śākta persuasion, and that all feminine deities, indeed, all things feminine, are aspects of this Śakti. Śāktism has particularly close relations with Śaivism: but in Śaiva worship, the Śakti is considered only in her relation to Śiva. In iconography, she may stand at Śiva's side, or be seated at his side or upon his thigh; or may be considered as half of his form, as in representations of Ardhanārīśvara.

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Here we are chiefly concerned with the South Indian (Tamil) development of the Āgamic Śaivas. The Southern Śaiva scriptures consist essentially of the *Tirumurai*, a collection including the *Tevāram* or devotional hymns of Tirujñāna Sambandha Swāmi, Appar Swāmi, and Sundara Mūrti Swāmi (seventh to ninth century), the *Tiruvācakam* of Māṇikka Vāṇagar (ninth century), the *Tirumantram* of Tirumūlar, and the *Periya Purāṇa* of Śekkirar (twelfth century); and of the formulated theological literature of the Śaiva Siddhānta, or 'Reasoned Śaiva system' due to the four 'Santāna ācāryas,' Meykaṇḍa Deva (thirteenth century) and his three immediate followers. In all these works, from which quotations will be found below, there are constant references to the various forms of Śiva exemplified in the Dravidian bronzes.

Māṇikka Vāṇagar's hymns are sung all over Southern India even at the present day, and it is a proverb that 'he whose heart is not melted by the *Tiruvācakam* must have a stone for a heart.' We may take a single example from the hymn, 'Forsake me not.' The poet compares himself to an ant on a firebrand burning at both ends, or to a tree, half undermined "on the river bank of maidens' senses five" — he has fallen from grace:

Me, meanest one, in mercy mingling, Thou dost make thine own, —
Lord of the Bull! Lo, Thou'st forsaken me! O Thou who wear'st
Garb of fierce Tiger's skin! Abiding Uttara Koṇa Maṅgai's king!
Thou of the braided lock! I fainting sink. Our Lord, uphold Thou me!

It will be seen that these hymns are full of allusions to the attributes and exploits of the Lord, well known to Śaivas, but needing far more lengthy explanations than can be attempted here.

Under the name of Naṭarājā in the Southern Śaiva system, Śiva is conceived as the Lord of Dancers or the supreme Dancer. The Lord is revealed by this dance — "He whom no signs describe, His mystic dance has given to know." Apart from the special legends connected with the dance (or dances, for there are many) of Śiva, its general significance is the manifestation of Being in the temporal form of Becoming — "like the heat latent in firewood, He diffuses his energy in mind and matter and makes them dance in their turn." The dance is in fact a dramatization of the Five Activities — evolution, continuation, destruction, illusion and enlightenment—which constitute the world process. An image such as

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that of Naṭarājā we may regard accordingly as complementary to that of the seated Buddha — these are the forms of action and inaction, Becoming and Being, neither superior to the other, but actually the same condition seen from two different points of view.

In Śaivism, then, the two contrasted types of the unmanifest Śiva represented by the *liṅgam*, and the manifested Śiva as Naṭarājā, represent the two coexistent aspects of god—in the terminology of Ruysbroeck, Eternal Rest and Eternal Work.

Almost of equal importance with the Southern Śaiva schools are those of Kāśmīr, founded by Somānanda and Abhinavagupta (tenth to eleventh century). Here much stress is laid on the realization of identity with Śiva by means of yoga practice. An interesting document of this school is the *Lallā Vākyaṇi*, the Wise Sayings of Lal Ded, a mystic poetess of the fourteenth century; we quote a specimen of her verses:

God of the dark blue throat! As thou hast the six (attributes), so the same six have I!
And yet, estranged from Thee, into misery have I fallen.

Only this discord was there, that, though betwixt Thee and me there was no difference,
Thou wast the Lord of six, while I by (another) six (mortal qualities) was led astray.

It may be observed in this connection that the world process is commonly spoken of in India as the sport or play (*līlā*) of the Lord. This is a fundamental concept of Indian theology and must not be understood in any trivial way, but in the sense, for example, in which the psychologist speaks of the highest activities of genius as more akin to play than work — that is to say, these activities proceed spontaneously out of abundance, and are not undertaken because of any necessity other than that of expression or manifestation. The cosmic stage is the theatre of the Universal Self:

Whenever the Actor beateth the drum,
Everyone cometh to see the show,
When the Actor collecteth the stage properties
He abideth alone in His happiness.

When we understand the drama rightly, however, we perceive that He is himself both actor and audience. Nothing has been accomplished, because there is nothing that can be accomplished or changed by a mere transposition of parts — and this transposition is all that we have seen or can see with our eyes.

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We may notice here the Indian doctrine of the Guru, characteristic alike of Śaivism and all other devotional faiths. The true Guru, the Venerable One, as the word signifies, is one who has progressed so far towards the state of final deliverance, that this is his last embodiment: such a one is regarded as an incarnation of Śiva himself, of which an example is to be found in Saint Māṇikka Vāṇagar. In this idea there is something closely analogous to the conception of *avatārs* in the Vaiṣṇava system. Only such a Guru can communicate to the disciple the words of initiation by the realization of which he may in turn attain to his own freedom. The Guru in this sense should be clearly distinguished from the priest, who is no more than the guardian of a shrine and the conductor of ceremonies, and receives in India only so much respect as may be accorded to priests elsewhere. In actual practice, the Guru to whom the individual turns as the source of wisdom is often a wandering Sannyāsin: it is common too, for there to be a family Guru, who is the spiritual adviser to all. But it is open to anyone to recognize in any other one (man, woman or child) the source of a wisdom nowhere else to be found: the relation of Guru to disciple is always unique.

Śākta cults

The supreme power, if regarded as possessing attributes, may be spoken of as He or She, and if without attributes, as It or That. Those Hindus who worship the cosmic energy as feminine, under the general name of Śakti, are known as Śāktas. According to this view, all the manifestations of divine power, including all the male divinities, proceed from the supreme Devī, who is the source of all divine and cosmic evolution. Thus, from an Indian point of view, Brynhild, Alcestis, Joan of Arc, the Virgin would be regarded as characteristic forms of the goddess. All of the various Hindu goddesses, e. g., Lakṣmī and Durgā, are to be regarded as manifestations of the Goddess, having names or forms corresponding to the particular activity or character of the aspect in question. It should however be understood that the Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas also worship the goddess, but in their case the male divinity is supreme, and the Devī second or equal in station.

The supreme Śakti is a personification of the universal unparticularized energy which is known to us in the form of 'forces.' By the awakening and bringing to consciousness of the Śakti in man himself, the goal of spiritual

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freedom may be attained: ¹ for this purpose various kinds of Yoga, and certain spells (*mantra*) are employed, and reliance is at the same time placed on devotion and on the gracious kindness of the Śakti herself. Most of the theory and ritual of the Śāktas is embodied in a class of scriptures known as the Tantras, and in hymns addressed to the goddess. The development of the Śākta cults — that is to say, the reception into the Brāhmanical system of the aboriginal worship of feminine divinities — can nowhere be better studied than in Bengal. It is there that the goddess in one of her most terrible forms is worshipped — as Kālī, and gives her name to Kālīghāt, Calcutta. The worship of the Mother, naturally, goes back to a primitive age, and embodies much that from the standpoint of a higher, that is to say more refined, culture, seems to be crude and unfit: even at the present day, for example, living goats and buffaloes are sacrificed to Kālī or Durgā. And yet an infinite tenderness distinguishes the Śākta cults. A feeling akin to that which enters into the Western adoration of the Virgin is felt in the Eastern cults of the Mother. “When the Śākta cult,” as Dinesh Chandra Sen remarks, “came to be recognized by the Indo-Āryans, they raised it into a highly refined and spiritual faith, Sanskritized its vocabulary, and Āryanized its modes of worship.” For the Śākta, the Mother is everywhere present: when he sees her in nature, he exclaims:

Enough, O Mother! Like the bee attracted by a painted flower, I have wandered amongst the empty pleasures of the world, I have tasted enough, I desire no more. Now evening has come; it is twilight dusk, O Mother, take your child to yourself.

(Rāma Prasād, eighteenth century.)

That the form of Kālī is terrible does not estrange her devotees: “Though the Mother beat him,” says Rāma Prasād, “the child cries ‘Mother, O Mother!’ and clings still tighter to her garment.” The wild dance of Kālī is interpreted in a devotional sense, precisely as in the case of Śiva himself:

Because Thou lovest the Burning-ground
I have made a Burning-ground of my heart —
That Thou, Dark One, Haunter of the Burning-ground
Mayest dance Thy eternal Dance. . . .
Do Thou enter in, dancing Thy rhythmic Dance,
That I may behold Thee with closed eyes.

¹ See Avalon, G., *The Serpent Power*, London, 1919.

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TĀNTRIK SYSTEMS

Closely related to the Śaiva and Śākta systems, often combined or identified with them, are those known as Tāntrik, described by their chief exponent in English,¹ as “the main, where not the sole, source of some of the most fundamental concepts still prevalent as regards worship, initiation, yoga, the supremacy of Guru, and so forth.” The Tāntra is based, like other systems, on the Vedas; it forms the specific system suited, according to the orthodox view, to the conditions of the fourth or Kali age, and is designed equally for the use of all of whatever age, caste or sex, nor is it restricted to the use of any special sect — it is a practice, rather than a dogma. “The Tantra harmonizes Vedāntic monism and dualism. Its purpose is to give liberation to the *jīva* (individual) by a method through which monistic truth is reached through the dualistic world.” The Tāntrik literature is usually presented in the form of instruction given by Śiva to Pārvatī in response to her enquiries. Stress is laid on the doctrine of the Guru and upon initiation. A leading idea in the ritual is that “success (i.e., enlightenment), is attained through the very things that lead to failure”: physical experiences entered upon in a purely functional or animal way are indeed worldly, but the very same activities entered upon with full self-consciousness and ceremonially are means of enlightenment. The principal object of the ritual is to awaken the Kuṇḍalinī or sleeping Goddess (Śakti) within the body of the individual, to the end that the disciple may realize his own identity with the Devī, the great Mother or Goddess, who is manifested throughout the Universe. In other words, the end in view, as in every Indian religious system, is the awakening of the disciple’s selfish or merely sensational consciousness, to true self-consciousness. There are Buddhist as well as Hindu Tantras, and much of the later mediæval Buddhist and Hindu art, particularly in its more highly elaborate forms, is properly to be described as Tāntrik.

¹ Avalon, A., *Principles of Tantra*, 2 vols., London, 1914, and other works on the same subject.

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THE EPICS AND PURĀṆAS

The composition of the two great epics, originally existing as ballad material and stories of political and military conflicts, covers a period of many centuries, from perhaps the seventh century B.C. to the fourth century A.D.: in their final forms, both are generally but not exclusively Vaiṣṇava in character. In the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Rāma is the heir to the throne of Ayodhyā: he has married Sītā, the daughter of a neighboring King. His brothers are Bharata, Lakṣmaṇa and Satrugṇa, his father Daśaratha, own mother Kauśalyā, and mother-in-law Kaikeyī. Kaikeyī secures his banishment for fourteen years, in order that her own son may succeed to the throne. Bharata, however, refuses to occupy his brother's place, and merely administers the kingdom in his name. Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa accompany Rāma to the forest. Years are spent in an idyllic life and in friendly association with the hermits, disturbed only by the attacks of demons. Finally Rāvaṇa, the chief of the latter, luring away the brothers in pursuit of a golden deer, carries off Sītā in their absence, and brings her to his fortress of Laṅkā, across the sea, and generally identified with Ceylon. Rāma effects an alliance with the monkey hosts and the bears — perhaps the aboriginal tribes — of the southern forests, and one of their leaders, Hanuman, son of the Wind, becomes his personal devotee. It is Hanuman who discovers the place of Sītā's imprisonment. The bears and monkeys build a bridge across the sea. Siege is laid to Laṅkā, Rāvaṇa is slain and Sītā recovered, and Rāma returns with her to Ayodhyā, accompanied by the victorious army, and establishes a kingdom of righteousness.

The *Mahābhārata* in the same way is based on old ballad material expanded and socialized, but with Kṛṣṇa in place of Rāma as the divine hero. Its theme is that of the conflict of the Pāṇḍavas (the five brothers Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhīma, Arjuna, Nakula, and Sahadeva, and their common wife Draupadī), with their cousins the Kauravas, the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra. The former are aided by Kṛṣṇa and are victorious in the 'great war of the Bharatas' which gives its title to the epic. Included in the lengthy text — some 215,000 lines — are the *Bhagavad Gītā*; innumerable legends and romances, including the *Nala and Damayantī*; and discourses on government

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and ethics. There is a saying, indeed, that what is not to be found in the *Mahābhārata* is not to be found in India.

Slightly later than the epics are the *Purāṇas*, which deal with cosmic history and myth, from a sectarian point of view. Many of these works were already in process of formation by the beginning of the Christian era. Among the most important are the *Bhāgavata*, the tenth section of which deals with the life of Kṛṣṇa, and the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, which relates the destruction of the demons, and particularly the bull demon, *Mahiṣāsura*. The elaboration of the *Purāṇas* continued late into the mediæval period.

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DRAMA ¹

The beginnings of Indian drama are to be recognized in Kṛṣṇa mystery plays, like the modern *yātras* of Bengal, which already existed before the beginning of the Christian era, and appear in a highly sophisticated form in the thirteenth-century *Gīta Govinda* of Jayadeva: the book consists of a lyrical monologue spoken, or rather sung, by three characters only, the hero, heroine, and messenger.²

The classical Sanskrit drama is a very special and elaborate development mainly of the Gupta period: two classes, with ten and eighteen species respectively, are enumerated. The presentation was characterized by absence of scenery, permitting rapid change of scene: acting consisted of dance pantomime accompanied by music. The text consisted of lyrical poetry in passages linked by prose dialogues, the stories being taken from epic or historic legends: the performances took place in palace theatres. Numerous works on dramaturgy exist, in which there is an elaborate classification of the emotions and of types of *dramatis personæ*. The language of gesture was very intensively studied, the position of the hands and of the individual fingers had definite significance: and from this point of view the art of dancing (including the modern Nautch) is of importance for the elucidation of paintings and sculptures.³

Of the great dramatists Kālidāsa is the best known, through the play *Sakuntalā*: there is here profound and sympathetic understanding of human nature, great refinement of sentiment, and a consciousness of the intimate interdependence of human life with the rest of the animate and inanimate world of Nature — birds, animals, trees, flowers, clouds. Other important dramas are the *Little Clay Cart* of Śūdraka (sixth century), the

¹ See especially Konow, S., *Das indische Drama*, Berlin, 1920; Sylvain Levi, *Le Théâtre Indien*, Paris, 1890; Coomaraswamy, A. K. and Duggirala, G. K., *The Mirror of Gesture*, Cambridge, 1917. A text and translation of the *Bharata Nāṭyaśāstra* by Professor Belvalkar of Poona is in preparation for the Harvard Oriental Series.

² The ultimate origin of the Indian drama, like that of the plastic arts, is connected with the cult of the dead. See Ridgeway, W. and Barnett, L. D., *The origin of the Hindu drama: additional evidence* (Cambridge Philosophical Soc., summarized in the Cambridge University Reports. March 18, 1920).

³ The one hundred and eight kinds of dancing mentioned in the *Bharata Nāṭya-Śāstra* are illustrated in sculptures of the Naṭarāja temple at Cidambaram.

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Mālatī Mādhava and *Uttara Rāma Carita* of Bhavabhūti, and the later morality play, *Prabodha-candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇa Miśra (eleventh century). There exist also vernacular dramas of modern authorship; but the old Indian theatre no longer survives, apart from the Nautch dances, where the technique of old Indian acting can still be adequately studied. The arts of the theatre in Further India and Indonesia, particularly Java, are more fully preserved.¹

No art has been more intensively cultivated in India than that of music, and aside from poetry, none is of more importance in a general view of Indian culture. The structure of poetry is strictly quantitative, and a poem is made to be chanted or sung, rather than for the eye. The music is vocal or instrumental: it is purely melodic, without harmony, other than that of a drone accompaniment, but modal in character, preserving a just intonation, and with a minutely divided scale, and so, as a melodic art, far more elaborately developed than any Western art of the same type. The voice is regarded as a musical instrument of the first rank: while of actual instruments, the classical *vīṇā* or lute stands foremost, with long strings capable of wide deflection, so that entire passages involving only the finer shades of intonation can be played on a single fret, without a renewed plucking of the string. The art of drumming, moreover, as regards both tonality and rhythm, is amazingly developed.²

¹ Groslier, G., *Danseuses cambodgiennes*, Paris, 1914; Lelyveld, Th. B. van, *De javaansche Danskunst*, The Hague, 1922.

² See Fox-Strangways, A. H., *The Music of Hindustan*, Oxford, 1914.

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ÆSTHETIC

While certain arts were practised in the Vedic period, there is no evidence to show that images were worshipped. In the age of the Upaniṣads and Buddhism the arts, though widely practised, are condemned by thinkers as merely ministering to the pleasures of the senses: and in fact there are indications of popular origins for the plastic and graphic arts in connection with ancestral cults. With the development of devotional cults arose the need for icons and for the illustration of edifying legend: and under learned supervision, Buddhist and Brāhmanical art rapidly acquired a hieratic character.

The greater part of Indian sculpture, and some part of the surviving painting, has thus a canonical (*śāstrīya*) character: its forms are symbolic and not naturalistic — representation is studied only in so far as it may serve the purpose of exposition. It is explicitly laid down by Śukrācārya — a political theorist of the Gupta period — that images of gods, even though devoid of pleasing characteristics, are auspicious, and that likenesses of men, however pleasing, are unholy. “Only those sculptures or paintings prepared in accordance with the canonical prescriptions are to be considered beautiful, not those which are pleasing to private taste or fancy.” The particular forms of images are described in canonical texts, the *Silpa Śāstras*, used by the imagers, and, as in the case of personal worship of a deity by visual meditation (*dhyāna*), these texts supply the data for the mental presentation which forms the sculptor’s model — “From mental vision,” says Śukrācārya, “he should establish in temples the images of deities who are the objects of his devotion . . . thus, and no otherwise, and verily not by direct observation, is the end to be attained.” The essential part of art, the visualization (as also in the parallel case of audition) is thus a kind of *yoga*, and the artist is sometimes referred to as a *yogī*: in many cases a special ritual, calculated to set aside the working of the conscious will and to set free the subjective powers, is performed before the work is undertaken. Here truth is not a product of visual observation, but of movement understood and realized by the artist in the muscular tensions of his own body.

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Canons of proportion based on the 'face' (three quarters of a 'head') as the major unit are also given, varying with the deity to be represented.¹ There are canons of proportion also for architectural works, even to the smallest details: in this connection it may be noted that while the earlier *Sulva Sūtras* ('rules of the cord' for the sacrificial altar ritual, fifth–eighth century B.C.) shows some knowledge of geometric, or dynamic symmetry, that of the later human and architectural canons is purely arithmetic or static.

The particular forms of images to be adopted 'are determined by the relation that subsists between the adorer and the adored':² in other words, the form of an image is necessitated by its *raison d'être*, and is not arbitrary or fanciful. Nor indeed, can any work of art come into being without a relation of understanding, love, and identity, between the artist and the theme of his art: as Goethe expresses it, "If one have not studied things with a partiality full of love, what one thinks about them is not worth saying." If the beauty of a work of art be independent of its theme, this is only true *a posteriori*, and not in the hour of creation, when the necessity that a given theme should be treated is the inspiration of the artist. It is with the explanation of this necessity that the historian of art should be occupied, so that the modern spectator may take for granted what was taken for granted when the artist was at work: only when he understands its intention and psychology will he be able to judge the work as good or bad of its kind — and though it still may or may not appeal to his taste, yet if there lies in it for him the possible experience of beauty (an experience more profound than the satisfaction of tastes), he will be in a better position to achieve it. It is true that the understanding of the ultimate content (as distinct from the merely formal 'subject') cannot be attained by mere scholarship, and must or may be intuitive: it is largely as works of art, and not as archæological and sectarian documents that sculptures and paintings of other ages are of value to us.

Certain Indian figures are characterized by a multiplicity of heads and limbs. This is a synthetic method born of the requirement that the various powers and aspects of a composite personality should be repre-

¹ See particularly Rao, T. A. G., *Tālamāna, or Iconometry*, Mem. Arch. Sur. India, no. 3. Calcutta, 1920.

² *Sukrācārya, Sukranītisāra*, ch. iv, sect. 4, v. 320.

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sented in a single conception. Stated more briefly, the immediate purpose of the additional arms is to carry the attributes by which the deity or special form of a deity is distinguished. It was for the Indian artist, no doubt, — as the centaur for the Greek, the sphinx for the Egyptian, or the angel for the European artist, — a difficult problem, and we may judge of his success from the solution that he actually presents: but for us, as for him, it should fall into its right place as a general problem of iconography, and we should not make the error of supposing that we can distinguish between fine and inferior sculpture by an arithmetical process of counting heads or limbs.

What has been said so far applies especially to the *śāstrīya* or hieratic art of the cult images. A somewhat freer treatment is found in the narrative art, particularly in painting, which illustrates the epics, *jātakas*, or the Kṛṣṇa cycle, for here the prescription is less precise and it is only necessary for the artist to follow the traditional course or some familiar poetic recension of the story. At Ajaṇṭā for example, in the *avadāna* stories at Borobudur, and in the greater part of Rajput painting, the representation deals apparently with human themes and the whole world of nature. But even here we shall misunderstand the whole significance if we suppose that these are genre paintings: on the contrary, the elements of the natural world depicted by the Oriental artist — Chinese painter of mist and mountain, or Indian painter of herdsmen and milkmaids — are the signs of general ideas, the outward forms of a universal inner life. It is only in the latter days of oriental art that it holds up a mirror to the passing hour, and only under European influence that it exhibits curiosity, and is preoccupied with natural fact.

It is not unusual for those who approach the art of the East for the first time to complain of a lack of facial expression or animation. But it should be realized that the typical expression of a *sāttvik*¹ image is one of serenity and represents a definite ideal of character. On the one hand we must avoid a confusion of apathy with peace, and on the other a confusion of excitement with power. Most of the emotions to which men ordinarily react are of the character Indian rhetoricians speak of as transient: but it is the permanent emotion (*sthāyī bhāva*), the ruling passion, of

¹ Images are classified as *sāttvik*, *rājasik*, and *tāmasik* according to their aspect — serene (like a Buddha), active (like a Natarāja), or fierce (like Caṇḍī): or 'pure,' 'passionate,' and dark.

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a Bodhisattva, rather than the distortion of the features under the stress of personal feeling, that the Indian artist is concerned to represent. It is only in the modern terra-cotta figures of Lucknow that he works in the manner of the Laokoon.

It will be understood that Indian religious figures have never in India been regarded as works of art. They are useful objects made by craftsmen in response to a command or demand for the clear and repeated presentation of a given form with a known significance. Precisely as in European Christian Art: "The artistic representation of sacred subjects was a science governed by fixed laws which could not be broken at the dictates of individual imagination," and "Through the medium of art the highest conceptions of theologian and scholar penetrated to some extent the minds of even the humblest of the people."¹ In the art of India, every form is the symbol of a clear and conscious thought and of consciously directed feeling. Nothing is arbitrary or peculiar, nothing is vague or mysterious, for the very *raison d'être* of all the imagery is to present concrete ideas in comprehensible and easily apprehended forms.

So far we have considered Indian sculpture, as it has always been considered in India, mainly from the standpoint of the *bhakta* or worshipper. It will be seen that in writing of these sculptures, we *can* consider them only from the standpoint of their original usage, referring incidentally to matters of related historical interest, such as details of costume, stance, and so forth, and to the technical methods of the craft. For one who approaches a work of art in the light of immediate experience, and is concerned with the real content, as distinct from the subject or literary motif of the work, all such interests will be extraneous, and to him we can only offer the sculptures as they stand, or as they may be seen in the accompanying reproductions: he will be able to recognize for himself the quality of a design and the degree of the vitality of the expression. It had never occurred to the Indian craftsman that his work could be considered from this point of view, still less to work with such an end in view. The idea of art for art's sake is totally foreign to the Indian consciousness.

The theory of pure beauty (*rasa*) is worked out in the mediæval period only in relation to drama and poetry, but is of perfectly general applica-

¹ Mâle, E., *Religious art of the thirteenth century in France*, 1913, pp. 1 and vii.

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tion.¹ The experience of beauty (*rasāsvādana*) is distinguished from the satisfaction of the physical or moral sense: "delightful or disgusting, there is no subject that may not evoke *rasa* in man." Loveliness (*rūpa*, etc.), on the other hand, is an objective quality appealing to taste.

A work of art expresses moods (*bhāva*) which may be 'transient' or 'permanent': the work as a whole must be characterized by a permanent mood to which the transient moods are subordinate. Aesthetic experience arises through attunement with the permanent mood, i.e., by empathy (*sādhāraṇa*) or imaginative re-creation, and is essentially due to the spectator's own spiritual activity "just as in the case of children playing with clay elephants," and is known "only to those who are competent thereto." This competence is partly innate and partly acquired, but cultivation and study alone are useless, for the *rasika* who is sensitive to beauty is born, like the poet, and criticism is akin to genius. A work of art is a statement "informed by *rasa*": its ultimate value depends on the blissful experience of beauty and not on the knowledge which may be gained from it. The tasting of *rasa* is a unified and mystical experience, blissful and conscious, but not occasioned by any specific pleasure, single quality or aggregate of pleasurable qualities in a work of art: it is self-manifested and free from admixture with other perceptions, such as those of association or interest.

We can hardly suppose that the theory of æsthetic experience as a thing independent of theme was ever actually applied to *śāstrīya* sculpture or painting in temples. But the mention of *bhāva* which we find in Yaśodhara's (pre-thirteenth century) commentary on the *Kāma Sūtra* of Vatsyāyana, where it is mentioned as one of the six elements of painting, shows that secular painting, at least, had been regarded as an art in the same sense as literature and drama.

¹ Dhananjaya, *Daśarūpa*, and Viśvanātha, *Sāhitya Darpaṇa*. Also Regnaud, P., *La rhétorique sanskrite*, Paris, 1884.

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SHORT CHRONOLOGY

Indo-Iranian separation	ca. 2500 B.C.	
Āryan invasions	2000–1500	
(Boghaz-köi inscriptions, Cappadocia, ca. 1400)	1500 (or earlier) 800 (about)	<i>R̥g Veda</i> . <i>Brāhmaṇas</i> , <i>Śulva sūtras</i> : doctrines of <i>karma</i> and <i>saṁsāra</i> . Oldest <i>Upani-</i> <i>ṣads</i> . Caste system developing.
<i>Śaiṣunāga dynasty</i>	600	
Bimbisāra	530	
Kuṇika Ajātaśatru	515 540–468 563–483	Pārkhama statue, Mathurā. Mahāvīra. Buddha.
Darius in the Pañjāb, 516	500–200	Vedic <i>sūtras</i> , later <i>Upaniṣads</i> , early forms of epics; Buddhist canon and <i>jātakas</i> . Early Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva theism: <i>Bhagavad Gītā</i> ; Pāṇini, grammarian. Taxila.
Alexander in India	327–325	
<i>Mauṛya dynasty</i>	322–184	<i>Arthaśāstra</i> of Cāṇakya. Pāṭaliputra. Megasthenes at Aśoka's court Pillar edicts and missions: Sāñci <i>stūpa</i> : Buddhism reaches Ceylon. Earliest caves (Lomas Ṛṣi and Bhājā).
Devānampiya Tissa, Ceylon		
<i>Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian dynasties in Pañjāb</i>	250 B.C.–60 A.D. 2d century	Patañjali mentions Hindu images. Vaiṣṇava pillar erected by Helio- dora.
<i>Āndhra dynasty</i>	220 B.C.– 236 A.D.	Bārhut, railing, 2d century, Amarā- vatī <i>stūpa</i> , 2d century, Sāñci rails and <i>toranas</i> 2d and 1st century B.C. Earliest Ajaṇṭā paintings.
<i>Śuṅga dynasty</i>	184–72	Bodhi Gayā, railing, 1st century B.C. Buddhist caves at Bedsā, Karle, Nāsik, Kondane, etc. Guḍimallam <i>lingam</i> . Sacrificial posts of Isāpur (first Sanskrit inscription).
Puṣyamitra		Buddhist canon committed to writing.
Menander (Milinda) in Sindh	155	
Śaka and Kuṣāṇ invasions	150–	
<i>Kāṁva dynasty</i>	72–27 88	
Vikrama <i>saṁvat</i> era	58	
<i>Kuṣāṇa or Indo-Skythian dy- nasty ca. 64–225 A.D.</i>		Indo-Hellenistic art of Gandhāra. Mathurā school. Amarāvati sculptures.
Kaṇiṣka, 78–120		
Vāsiṣka		

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Huviṣka		Apollonius of Tyana in India 43-44.
Vasudeva, 140?	67	Buddhism reaches China.
Śaka era	78	Jainism divided in two sects.
		<i>Saddharma Puṇḍarīka</i> .
Early Pāṇḍya, Coḷa and Cera		Aśvaghoṣa: Nāgārjuna.
kingdoms in the South		
<i>Gupta dynasty</i>	320-650	Ārya Sūra: Aśaṅga: Vasubandhu,
Candragupta (320)		Roman trade: Tamil <i>Sanḡam</i> : Bhāsa:
Samudragupta (330)		early Sanskrit dramatist. Laws of
Candragupta II (375)		Manu. <i>Kāmasūtram</i> .
Kumārāgupta I (414)		Classic Sanskrit and Mahāyāna form
Skandagupta (455)		of Buddhism: further development
Kumārāgupta II (473)		of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism. Mathe-
(Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha		matics, drama (Kālidāsa, Bharata),
535-720)		music, coins. Final recensions of
		epics. <i>Vayu</i> , <i>Viṣṇu</i> and other
		<i>Purāṇas</i> , <i>Harivaṃśa</i> , etc. Paint-
		ings of Ajanṭā and Sigiri. Buddhism
		in Ceylon (Anurādhapura). Brick
		and stone Brāhmanical architecture.
		Buddhist, Jain, and Brāhmanical
		excavated temples. Indonesian
		colonies. Intercourse with China.
		Travels of Fa Hsien, 399-413.
		Āryabhatta, b. 476.
First invasion of Huns	450	Buddhism in Siam.
<i>Pallava dynasty</i> (South)	6th to 10th	Kāñcīpūram, Māmallapūram (earliest
Mahendravarman, 600	century	Dravidian architecture). 'Primitive'
Narasimha-varman, 625		architecture of Cambodia, etc.
Mihiragula (Hun)	510-540	Varāhamihira d. 587.
<i>Chālukya dynasty</i> (Deccan)	550-1190	} Early temples of Bādāmi, Osia, and
Pulakeśin II (608)		
Harśavardhana (606-647)		Aihole.
<i>Hijrā era</i> (flight of Muḥam-		Bāṇa.
mad from Mecca)	622	Travels of Hsüan Tsang, 629-645.
		Nālandā university. Mahāyāna
		brought to Cambodia and Indonesia.
		Travels of I Ching, 671-695.
		Śānti Deva.
	5th-9th century	Śaiva hymnists in S. (Tirujñāna Sam-
		bandha Swāmi, Appar Swāmi,
		Tirumūlar, Sundaramūrti Swāmi,
		Māṇikka Vāṇagar); twelve Vaiṣṇava
		Ālvārs. Decline of Buddhism
		throughout India except Bengal,
		and decline of Jainism in S.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Rise of the Rājputs	700—	
Arab conquest of Sind	712	
	8th century	Elephanta, Elūrā (Brāhmaṇical excavations and sculpture). Fall of Anurādhapura and establishment of Buddhism in Poḷonnāruva, Ceylon.
Mihira Bhoja	840—90	Rājaśekhara.
<i>Paḍa dynasty</i> (Bengal)	730—1197	Dhīmān and Bitpālo, sculptors.
Dharmapāla	780—892	Development of Tāntrik Buddhism in Bengal and Nepal. Kāśmīr Śaivism.
Devapāla		Śaṅkarācārya, 788—850. <i>Bhāgavata Purāṇa</i> .
Jayavarman II. (Cambodia)	802—869	Khmer art (Cambodia) 6th—13th century. Pagān (Burma), 742.
		Early Čam art (Annam) 7th—11th century.
	8th to 10th century	Architecture at Khajurāho, Gwalior, Mt. Ābū and in Orissa.
		Borobuḍur and Prambānam (Java), 8th—9th century (Sumatran power).
Nepalese <i>samvat</i> era	879	Angkor Thom, Cambodia, 9th century.
<i>Eastern Chālukya dynasty</i>	973—1189	
<i>Later Coḷa dynasty</i>	907—1310	Tanjore temple.
Rājarāja-deva,	985—1035	Rāmānuja (b. 1016).
Maḥmūd of Ghazna	1001—1027	Abhinavagupta, fl. 1000.
Rāja Bhoja of Dhār	1018—1060	Hemacandra, 1089—1173.
Hoyśāla dynasty (Mysore)	1110—1327	Schwezigon and Ānanda pagodas, Pagān, 1090.
Sena dynasty (Bengal)	1119—1199	Čam capital at Binh Dinh, 1100.
Prthvi-rāja	1182	Poḷonnāruva, Ceylon (1065—1225).
Parakrāma Bāhū I. (Ceylon)	1150—1197	Angkor Wat, Cambodia, 11th—12th century.
Chingiz Khān b. 1162		Hindu rule in East Java, 10th—16th century.
Muḥammadan conquest of		Destruction of Buddhist monasteries.
Delhi (1193) and Bengal	1199—1200	Madhva (1119—1198).
<i>Slave Kings of Delhi</i>	1206	Architecture in Orissa (Konārak, etc.).
	13th century	Jayadeva. Nimbārka.
		Meykaṇḍa Deva (Śaiva Siddhānta).
		Fall of Pagān, Burma, 1287.
		Marco Polo in S. India.
<i>Khilji dynasty</i>	1290—1318	Panatāran, Java.
<i>Kingdom of Vijayanagar</i> (super-		
sedes Coḷa, Cera, Pāṇḍya		
powers)	1336—1646	

INTRODUCTION

Timūr sacks Delhi	1398 14th century	Guru Nānak (first Sikh guru). Rāmānanda. Vedānta Deśika. Vidyāpati, Umāpati, Caṇḍidās.
<i>Lodi dynasty</i>	1450–1526	
<i>Bahmanī dynasty</i> (Deccan)	1347–1526	
<i>Ādil Shāhī</i> kings of Bijāpur	1490–1673 15th century	Vallabha (b. 1479). Kabīr (d. 1518). Caitanya (1485–1533). Zenith of vernacular (Hindī and Bengālī) literature. Siamese conquest of Cambodia, 1473. Muḥammadan conquest of Java: Hinduism survives in Bali. Tulsi Dās 1532–1623. Keśava Dās fl. 1580–1610. Portuguese at Calicut, 1498.
	1478	
Kṛṣṇarāya Deva of Vijayanagar	16th–17th 1509–1529. century	
<i>Mughal dynasty</i>	1526–1671	
Bābur 1526–1530		{ Hindu-Muḥammadan <i>rapprochement</i> under Akbar. Conquest of Kāśmīr, Kāngrā and much of Rājputāna. Mughal painting. Rājput painting. London East India Co., 1600. Dutch East India Co., 1602. English factory at Surat, 1608. La compagnie des Indes, 1664.
Humāyūn		
Akbar, 1556–1606		
Jahāngīr, 1606–1627		
Shāh Jahān, 1627–1658		
Auraṅzīb, 1658–1756		
Tirumala Nāyyak, Madura	1623–1659	
Guru Govind Singh	1675–1708	Sikhs become a political power.
Marāṭhā power: Śivaji	1674–1680	
Nādir Shāh sacks Delhi	1739	
Kīrti Śrī, Ceylon	1747–1780	
British Empire	1858 19th century	Dāyānanda (Ārya Samāj): Brahmo Samāj: Rāma Krishna. Archæological Survey of India. Bengālī painters. Nationalism.
	20th century	

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

CLASSIFICATION OF ART BY PERIODS AND STYLES

1. GENERAL

	Pre-Maurya	-322
Early Buddhist B.C. 322-A.D. 64	{ Maurya	322-184
	{ Āndhra	220-
	{ Śuṅga	184-72
Kuṣāṇa and late Āndhra A.D. 64-320	{ Indo-Hellenistic art of Gandhāra	
	{ School of Mathurā	
	{ Southern schools, Amarāvati and Ceylon	
	Gupta	A.D. 320-650
	Mediæval	650-1800
	Modern	1800-

2. LOCAL

<i>Northern</i>		<i>Southern</i>	
Early Mediæval	650- 900	Dravidian	
Mid-Mediæval	900-1200	Pallava	ca. 550-1000
Late Mediæval	1200-	Coḷa	907-1310
		Chālukya	550-1190
		Eastern Chālukya	615-1000
Rājput	1500-1850	Hoyśāla	1110-1327
Mughal	1556-1800		
Modern	1800-1900	Vijayanagar	1350-1600
Contemporary	1900-	Madura	1600-

3. SINHALESE

Anurādhapura	[B.C. 437]-1065
Polonnāruva	1065-1305
Kurunēgala, Gampola, Kotte	1303-1592
Kandy	1592-1815

4. FURTHER INDIA AND INDONESIA

Burma

Earliest Indian influences	250 B.C.-400 A.D.
Prome	5th-8th century
Pagān	742-1287
Zenith of Burmese power	11th-12th century
Great temples of Pagān (Classical Burmese art)	11th century

Siam

Earliest Indian influence	250 B.C.-350 A.D.
Period of Gupta influence	350- 750

INTRODUCTION

Sukothai-Savankolok period	750-1100
Pitsanulok-Lopburi period	1100-1350
Ayuthia period	1350-1750

Cambodia (Khmer)

Earliest Indian influences	2d-6th century
'Primitive' art	6th-8th century
Angkor Thom } 'Classical' art	{ 9th-13th century
Angkor Wat }	{ 12th-13th century
Siamese domination	1473-1862
French domination	1863-

Čampa (modern Annam)

Earliest inscriptions	7th century
'Art primaire'	7th-10th century
Capital at Binh Dinh	1100
'Art secondaire'	11th-17th century
Decadence	12th-17th century
First French travellers	1720

Java and Sumatra

Earliest Indian settlements	3rd-5th century
Early art: temples of Diēng plateau. Hindu kings of Central Java (earliest inscription 732)	7th-8th century
Śrīvijaya (Sumatra) domination of Central Java	750-900
Classical Javanese art	
Caṇḍi Kalāsan	778
Caṇḍi Mendūt and Borobudur	8th-9th century
Prambānam (Caṇḍi Loro Jongrong)	9th-10th century
Hindu rule in East Java	10th-16th century
Singosāri	1220-1242
Majapahit	1294-1478
Muḥammadan Conquest	15th-16th century

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¹ A summary list of works on Indian philosophy, religion, literature and history. Works dealing more specifically with the arts will be quoted in subsequent sections of the catalogue.

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**CATALOGUE OF THE INDIAN COLLECTIONS
IN THE
MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON**

**PART II
SCULPTURE**

SCULPTURE

HISTORY OF INDIAN SCULPTURE

THERE is some evidence to show that the origin of Indian sculpture may have been connected with the cult of the dead, or 'ancestor worship.'¹ Like Indian architecture, it seems to spring into being very suddenly: this is because the earlier documents in impermanent materials—wood, stucco, and terra cotta—no longer survive. An ancient legend refers to an image in sandalwood made for King Bimbisāra in the lifetime of the Buddha himself, but we can scarcely attribute any historical value to this.² Patañjali, however, commenting upon the grammarian Pāṇini, refers to the public exhibition and sale of images of gods (Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha), and this is good evidence for his own period (second century B.C.) and possibly for that of Pāṇini (fourth century B.C. or earlier).³ The representation of Hindu gods with four arms began in the period 50–100 A.D. according to the evidence of coins.⁴ Apparently the earliest extant Brāh-

¹ Laufer, B., *Das Citralakṣaṇa*, Leipzig, 1913. Evidently one original purpose of an image or painting was to serve as a substitute for the dead or absent person: the word *ālekhyāśeṣa*, "of whom nothing but a picture remains" seems to preserve this association of ideas. Cf. also the references to golden images in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and in the *Kusa Jātaka*. Examples of the deified hero, in sculpture, are found in the Marāṭhā figures of Khande Rāo (p. 116 *infra*), in the figures of Tamil saints (p. 111 *infra*), and very frequently in Siamese and Khmer Buddhist art. Posthumous portrait sculpture is further illustrated by the figures of Kaṇiṣka and other Kuṣāṇa kings (Vogel, J. Ph., *Explorations at Mathurā*, Arch. Sur. Ind., Ann. Rep., 1911–12, Calcutta, 1915), and of Kṛṣṇarāya of Vijayanagar and his queens and ministers (H. Krishna Sastri, *The third Vijayanagara dynasty*, *idem*). See also Vincent Smith, *History of fine art in India and Ceylon*, fig. 151; Coedès, G., *Note sur l'apothéose au Cambodge*, Bull. de la Comm. arch. de l'Indochine, 1911; and references cited in footnote 5 on p. 4 (Kunika Ajātaśatru).

² Hackin, J., *Sur des illustrations tibétaines d'une légende du Divyāvadāna*, Ann. du Musée Guimet., Bib. de Vulg., Tome 40, Paris, 1913. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mediæval Sinhalese art*, p. 71. For other references to the similar legends preserved by Fa Hsien and Hsüan Tsang, see Foucher, A., *The beginnings of buddhist art*, p. 24 n.

³ Sten Konow, *Note on the use of images in ancient India*, Indian Antiquary, June, 1909, pp. 145–149. Macdonell, A. A., *Early Hindu iconography*, J. R. A. S., July, 1917, p. 602; and *The development of early Hindu iconography in Festschrift Ernst Windisch*; and *The history of Hindu iconography*, in Rūpam, no. 4, 1920. The view that images of deities were made in the Vedic period is ably maintained by Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian images*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1921, pp. 1–xxxvii.

⁴ Macdonell, A. A., J. R. A. S. 1916, pp. 125–130.

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manical sculpture is the figure of Śiva forming part of the Liṅgam, assigned to the first century B.C., at Guḍimallam.¹ This has analogies with the Yakṣa figures on the Sāñcī gateways, and clearly represents an already long developed technique. Another Mukhaliṅga, from Bhīṭā, now in the Lucknow Museum, is of the same date.² There is a very early image of Sūrya in the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Guḍimallam. There are representations identical with those of the Hindu goddess Gaja Lakṣmī or Śrī at Sāñcī, but there is reason to believe the significance of these may be Buddhist.³ The earliest extant images of Buddha appear at Gandhāra and in the famous Kaṇiṣka reliquary, but are in a style already decadent and *stylisé*, implying an earlier development,⁴ and at Mathurā in the first century A.D. Others of about the second century have been found at Amarāvati and Kāñcīpuram, and in Ceylon.

The oldest Indian sculptures, however, are massive free standing figures over life size, of archaic aspect, and representing kings of the Śaiśunāka dynasty. Hitherto regarded as of Mauryan age, a recent rereading of the inscriptions shows that these figures must be referred to the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.⁵ The most important represents Kuṇika Ajātaśatru (d. 518 B.C.), and as no doubt a posthumous work, may be dated about 515: this figure, now in the Mathurā Museum, is known as the 'Pārkhām image'; a female figure in the same manner, from Besnagar, is now in the Calcutta Museum. Two statues from Patna now in the Calcutta Museum are inscribed with the names of later (fifth century) Śaiśunāka kings. It is significant that these earliest figures cannot be directly associated with orthodox cults either Buddhist or Brāhmaṇical, and only in style, and not iconographic detail, represent the sources of the later devotional imagery.

¹ Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, p. 65 and pls. II-IV: for the Sūrya, *ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 312 and pl. LXXXVI.

² Banerji, R. D., *Three sculptures in the Lucknow Museum*, in Arch. Sur. Ind., Ann. Rep., 1909-10, Calcutta, 1914.

³ Foucher, A., *Les images indiennes de la Fortune*, Mem. conc. l'Asie orientale, Paris, 1913.

⁴ Spooner, D. B., *Excavations at Shāh-jī-kī-Dherī*, Arch. Sur. Ind., Ann. Rep., 1908-09 (1912), p. 50; *Excavations at Takhtī Bahī*, *loc. cit.*, 1907-08 (1911), p. 144, note 3. Foucher, A., *The beginnings of buddhist art*, 1917, pp. 128, 129.

⁵ See Jayaswal, K. P., *Two statues of Saisunaka emperors*, and *Another Saisunaka statue*, Journal Bihar and Orissa Research Soc. Vol. V, 1919, and controversial articles by other scholars in the same volume, as well as the discussion reported in J. R. A. S., London, 1920, pp. 154-156. See also Gangoly, O. C., *A note on Mr. Jayaswal's discovery of two Saisunaga (?) statues*, Modern Review, Calcutta, October, 1919.

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The best known sculptures of certainly Mauryan date are the lion capitals of the Aśoka columns, the finest of which has been found at Sārnāth. These show Persian influence. An image of a female *caurī*-bearer, recently found at Didarganj, is of Mauryan or earlier date.¹

The first beginnings of specifically Buddhist art are most likely to be recognized in the formal symbols stamped on tokens or medals carried away by pilgrims as memorials of their visits to sacred sites, the particular symbols employed having reference to the events in connection with which the sites were held sacred.² Fully developed early Buddhist art is typically represented at Bārhut (late second century B.C.) and at Sāñcī, where in the early Āndhra period (middle first century B.C.) elaborately decorated railings and gateways were added to the simple reliquary monuments of the time of Aśoka (272–232 B.C.). These railings and gateways are profusely decorated with carvings in low relief illustrating edifying Buddhist legends — episodes in the life of the Buddha, and of his previous incarnations.³ An idea of their technique may be gathered from the fact recorded in an inscription at Sāñcī, that certain portions were executed “by the ivory workers at Bhilsā.” Perhaps the most striking feature of this early Buddhist art is the fact that the Buddha himself is never represented in human form, his presence being indicated, where it is required, only by symbols. In this respect, more than in any other, this is truly early Buddhist art — for nothing is more emphatically indicated of the Tathāgata, ‘Who-had-attained’ to Buddhahood, than the fact of his release from the realm of circumstance and presentation. In this way, at any rate, might be understood the absence of any isolated Buddha figure forming a cult object: but the absence of the figure on the story-telling reliefs is more simply and obviously to be explained as due to the conservatism of the artists, who merely adhered to the old methods employed in the tokens and medals to indicate leading events in the Master’s life. For the rest, this is rather a very charming art about Buddhism than Buddhist art: it is an art adapted

¹ Spooner, D. B., *A Mauryan image from Didarganj, now in the Patna Museum*, Journ. Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. V, 1919.

² See Foucher, A., *The beginnings of buddhist art*, 1917, pp. 61–110.

³ Cunningham, A., *The stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879. Marshall, J. H., *A Guide to Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1918. Foucher, A., *Les représentations de Jātaka dans l’art bouddhique*. Mem. conc. l’Asie orientale, tome III, Paris, 1919.

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to the purposes of edification, rather than expressive of Buddhist psychology.

From what has been already said, however, it will be seen that the Early Buddhist art of Sāñcī and Bārhut can only precede by a very short period, or more probably overlaps, that critical period of Indian religious growth when the spirit of devotional worship and adoration (*bhakti*), partly replacing the merely ritualistic aspects of the old Vedic cults of the Olympian deities, and partly replacing the view of Buddha and of the Upaniṣads which regards Truth alone as the means of salvation, made the use of icons inevitable and established the conditions essential to the appearance of a definitely religious art. It cannot be too deeply regretted that so little has survived of these earliest cult images, whether Buddhist, Jaina or Brāhmaṇical.

The best known early Buddhist figures are those of the school of Gandhāra (Kuṣāṇa period, first to third centuries A.D.) on the northwest frontier, where the figures of Buddha appear in innumerable compositions, the general character of which is indicated in the accepted designation Greco-Buddhist, though Indo-Hellenistic would be nearer the mark, since this may well be regarded as an offspring of provincial Greco-Roman art adapted to Buddhist purposes under the patronage of the Indo-Scythian kings. Many motifs of this art are undoubtedly of western origin; and it is assumed by many archæologists that the Buddha type is the creation of the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra. But there is also the possibility, and even a probability that the lost prototypes of the Buddha icon may have been of purely Indian origin: this applies particularly to the seated figure¹ which may be regarded as one of the many Indian motifs remodelled by the Gandhāra sculptors in their own way. Of the Gandhāra school the Museum possesses a very perfect Buddha head, and a number of fragmentary specimens.

The contemporary school of Mathurā, represented in the collections by few complete pieces and many interesting fragments (including a small 'Silenus group,' a seated Sūrya wearing chain armor, and a powerful

¹ Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Buddhist Primitives*, in *The Dance of Siva*, New York, 1918. Also Burgess, *Journal of Indian Art*, Vol. VIII, p. 33—"in the fact that purely Indian attitudes are preserved . . . there is evidence that figures of Buddha existed before the Gandhāra sculptures."

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head of Buddha) is, on the whole, intermediate in character between the Indo-Hellenistic art of the northwest and the more distinctively Indian work of the south and of Ceylon, already referred to. But there are found at Mathurā a number of examples of seated Buddha and Bodhisattva figures of the Kuṣāṇa period,¹ which, as remarked by Vogel 'cannot be immediately derived from any known class of images in Gandhāra.'² There are also Buddhist figures of an Indian character, of the late Kuṣāṇa period at Mirpur Khās in Sind.³ The Jaina art of Mathurā is similar in style to the Buddhist, and in the case of detached fragments cannot be easily differentiated. The survival of Nāga cults, more or less closely associated with Buddhist worship, is also indicated. The schools of Amarāvati and Ceylon, though contemporary with the northern Kuṣāṇa art, are far more characteristically Indian, and seem to be much more independent of the Hellenistic influences. In the few Buddha figures that have been preserved, though they are probably as late as the second century A.D., we are still able to recognize very clearly the impress of original creative imagination. The Amarāvati *stūpa* dates from about 200 B.C. but the great railing and the sculptured slabs that covered the *stūpa* itself, as well as the detached images, belong to the period A.D. 150 to 250, and were executed under the patronage of Āndhra kings.⁴ The railing is the most elaborate known of its kind: as usual, it consisted of pillars connected by crossbars, standing on a plinth. The pillars were adorned with full lotus in the centre, and half rosettes at the top and bottom. The coping and plinth were elaborately ornamented, the former with a long undulating garland borne by men, the latter with boys and animals. Every part of the structure, indeed, with an estimated surface of 16,800 square feet, was covered with sculptured reliefs. The sculpture is very vigorous and full of movement, sometimes passionately devotional, some-

¹ The oldest Buddha figure so designated in an inscription — and perhaps the oldest so far discovered in India proper — is that of Anyor, now in the Mathurā Museum (first century, A.D., see Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910, p. 48 and pl. viii).

² Vogel, J. Ph., *The Mathura school of sculpture*, Arch. Sur. Ind., Ann. Rep., 1909-10, Calcutta, 1914, p. 66.

³ Cousens, H., *Buddhist Stupa at Mirpur Khās*, Arch. Sur. Ind., Ann. Rep. 1909-10, Calcutta, 1914.

⁴ Burgess, J., *The Buddhist stupas of Amaravati and Jagayyapeta*, London, 1887.

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times humorous, and there is an abundance of finely wrought conventional floral ornament. The greater part of the still surviving sculptures are preserved in the British Museum and in the Government Museum, Madras. The twenty-one fragments in the Museum of Fine Arts are the gift of the Government Museum, Madras. Some extremely interesting rectangular medals or coins,¹ found at Kantarodai (the ancient Nāgadīpa?) in Northern Ceylon are impressed with standing figures of Gaja Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu, and goddess of Fortune — or, if we regard them as Buddhist, of Mayā Devī:² these are designed in a manner closely related to that of the Amarāvati sculptures.

In the Gupta period (320–480 A.D., or more generally, as a period of art, 300–600 A.D.) all the styles and influences already spoken of are combined and unified in an entirely national religious art, which is still largely Buddhist, but to an increasing degree Brāhmaṇical. The fourth century is sometimes regarded as the critical period of the 'Hindu Renaissance': but this is to be understood rather in the sense that Brāhmaṇical cults and Sanskrit literature now came forward conspicuously under royal patronage, than as implying that there had ever been a Buddhist period when Brāhmaṇical culture was in real abeyance. The Gupta emperors were officially Vaiṣṇavas, but in accordance with Indian traditions of tolerance patronized all sects impartially. This was a golden age of literature and art, embracing the classic Sanskrit dramas of Kālidāsa, and most of the Buddhist painting at Ajanṭā. From this time may date a large proportion of the *Śilpa Śāstras*, or books of canonical prescription used by the architects and imagers. The last recensions of the epics, and the compositions of some of the *Purāṇas* also belong to this period. It was also an age of Colonial expansion, in Java and Cambodia.

Gupta sculpture is suave and full in its forms and massive in its general character: in the main it unmistakably represents a development of the old Indian art already recognized in the archaic images of the pre-Mauryan period and the animistic art of Mathurā: traces of western influence are

¹ Pieris, P. E., *Nāgadīpa and Buddhist remains in Jaffna*, Journ. Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Vol. XXVIII, no. 72, 1919.

² Foucher, A., *Les images indiennes de la Fortune*, Mem. conc. l'Asie orientale, Paris, 1913. The subject occurs as a Buddhist motif also at Bārhut — Cunningham, A., *The stūpa of Bharhut*, 1879, pl. xxvi, fig. 1: and in the early Jain caves of Orissa.

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scarcely to be recognized after 400 A.D., except as the ultimate source of particular formulæ. Amongst the most important sites where Gupta sculpture appears are Mathurā, Sārnāth, Ajanṭā, and Bādāmī. The activity of the Mathurā school appears to have ended about 600 A.D. According to some the general level of Indian sculpture attains its highest point in the Gupta period, according to others in what may be called the early Mediæval, or Classic period of Indian sculpture, covering the seventh and eighth centuries. Nothing, however, surpasses the 'Buddhist primitives' of Amarāvati and Ceylon, the Guḍimallam liṅgam, and the pre-Mauryan figures. The tendency of future criticism will be to push further and further back — into the centuries preceding the Kuṣāṇa period — our dating of the most powerful and creative impulses in Indian art. In the technical accomplishment and deliberate suavity of Gupta and Early Mediæval art there is rather to be recognized refinement, than the evidence of an immediate and imperative experience.

It is undeniable, nevertheless, that the Gupta coinage, of which the Museum possesses a number of examples, is superior to any before or after. Of stone sculpture, the collections include the upper part of a figure of Viṣṇu, with three heads and four arms, in red sandstone, and a number of detached heads of Buddha images. A magnificent standing Buddha in copper is a gift from the Government Museum, Madras.

The sculpture of the seventh and eighth centuries (Early Mediæval) excels not only in static conceptions, but in the representation of movement: its forms are more slender, and more elegant than those of Gupta art, though lacking its magnificent solidity. By contrast with the earliest Indian art it is typically learned and conscious, even when it seems most spontaneous. The study of gesture and stance in connection with dramatic dancing and the plastic arts had now been pushed to an extreme limit. The models followed by all subsequent schools are already established and the art is classic in this sense. The still later schools, exceptions apart, never again attain to the same dramatic vitality or the same directness of statement.

Most of the works of this period are executed on a large scale, and more often than not are cut directly in the living rock, e.g. at Elūrā, Elephantā, and Māmallapuram. The Museum of Fine Arts, however, possesses a

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very fine example of late Early Mediæval sculpture in a Śiva and Pārvatī group in cream sandstone, found near Mathurā, and strongly reminiscent of the classical Śaiva reliefs at Elūrā: it is one of the finest examples of Indian Brāhmaṇical sculpture outside India. The two principal figures are seated at ease: Śiva has four arms, two with attributes, and one of the others embracing his Śakti. The Museum is fortunate also in possessing two small Mahāyāna Buddhist images of the eighth century from Ceylon, an Avalokiteśvara and a Jambhala, which very adequately exhibit the qualities of Indian art of this period. The Avalokiteśvara, which is perhaps the most important single object in the collection, vividly recalls the treatment of the figure of Śiva in the well-known Kailāsa composition at Elūrā. The Jambhala, equally admirable in technique, is less attractive in theme. A third Ceylonese figure, also Buddhist, is perhaps a century later, and only slightly inferior.

Bihar and Bengal in the Pāla period are prolific in Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical sculptures of highly finished workmanship, both in metal and in a hard black slate. Of these the Museum possesses excellent examples in a representation of the Eight Great Miracles (life of Buddha), standing figures of Viṣṇu, a large seated Padmapāṇi in stone, and metal figures of Padmapāṇi, Viṣṇu, and an Umā-Maheśvara group.

The Buddhist art of Nepal (with occasional Brāhmaṇical examples) can be followed continuously throughout the Mediæval period (ninth to nineteenth century). The earliest examples, of which the Museum possesses an exceptionally important series, exhibit a close relationship to the older art of India proper, particularly of the Gupta period. Nepalese art, moreover, has always been closely connected with that of Bengal, and this relation is evident in painting¹ as well as in sculpture. The four examples of early Nepalese sculpture in the Museum collection (Avalokiteśvara, Buddha, Viṣṇu) are tentatively assigned to the ninth or tenth century.² Possibly we may recognize here the influence of the master founders Dhimān and Bitpālo, of Varendra in Bengal (ninth century), the former of whom is reported by Tārānātha, the Buddhist historian of the fifteenth

¹ Foucher, A., *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, pt. I, Paris, 1900, with reproductions from four Nepalese and Bengālī mss. of a date not later than the eleventh century.

² Spooner, D. B., *Viṣṇu images from Rangpur*, Arch. Sur. India, Ann. Rep., 1911-12 (1915), p. 152 seq.

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century, to have been regarded as head of the 'Eastern School,' from which, he says, the second school of Nepalese art is derived.

But the style of these figures is much nearer to that of the Gupta period than to that of certain images of the tenth or eleventh century actually found in Bengal.¹ They may thus be even earlier than has been suggested: it would not be difficult to suppose that images similar to this might have been seen at the great Buddhist University of Nālandā, when it was visited by Hsüan Tsang in the sixth century, or by I Ching in the seventh. However this may be, it is at least certain that these figures, Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical alike, are reminiscent of Gupta art, and equally clearly differentiated from the more abundant and better known Nepalese and Tibetan types dating from later than the twelfth or thirteenth century, and represented in many collections, including that of the Museum of Fine Arts. The early figures are solid and full-fleshed, with rounded faces and rather florid features: the later are more *svelte*, deliberately elegant, the faces oval and the features aquiline. Synthetic forms with additional heads and arms are also commoner amongst the later types.

Tibetan art is directly derived from Nepal: the political relations between the two kingdoms were close, from an early period. It is not always easy to distinguish Tibetan from Nepalese examples of the later period: but broadly speaking, as one proceeds from Nepal through Tibet towards China, there is a gradual modification of style, from types which are plainly Indian, to those which are equally clearly Chinese.

Indian colonial art in Java and Cambodia, as well as the Chinese Buddhist art of the Wei and T'ang periods, is directly based upon and developed from Gupta prototypes, in the case of China, however with other influences entering through Central Asia. The Chinese Buddhist pilgrims Fa Hsien and Hsüan Tsang visited India in 399-413 and 520-529. By the time that I Ching travelled in India and the Malay Archipelago (671-695) Buddhism had already declined in India proper, and after the seventh century survived only in Bengal (until the end of the twelfth century) and in Nepal

¹ Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 118, fig. 3; Spooner, D. B., *Vishnu images from Rangpur*, Arch. Sur. India, Ann. Rep., 1911-12, Calcutta, 1915. There are important examples in the Museum of the Bengal Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta. Excavations are in progress at Nālandā and numerous metal images have been found (Arch. Sur. India, Ann. Rep., 1917-18, pt. 1, p. 24 and pl. xiv).

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and Ceylon. Brāhmaṇical art attains a superb development in Cambodia (Angkor Thom and Angkor Wat): the Buddhist art of Borobudur is very rich and lovely, but far less powerful.

Indian colonial art is represented in the Museum by a valuable series of examples from Java and Cambodia, and from Siam. A Javanese relief in black basalt is Brāhmaṇical and represents Caṇḍī (Cāmuṇḍā), a *tāmasik* form of Durgā (Devī), slaying the demon Mahiṣa. The Cambodian (Khmer) and Čam heads both Śaiva and Buddhist and the bronze dancing *apsarases* are admirable examples of the ninth to twelfth centuries. The three large Siamese bronzes, one the upper part of a standing Buddha statue, the second a complete standing figure, and the third the head of a Buddhist personage, perhaps a Bodhisattva, are somewhat later than the smaller complete standing figure (Wetzel bequest), which may be assigned to the eleventh or twelfth century.

Indian 'bronzes' (really in copper or more rarely in brass) of the Southern (Dravidian) school, which are best known by the Naṭarājās or dancing Śivas of the Madras and Colombo museums,¹ are well represented in the Museum of Fine Arts by numerous examples chiefly from the Beardsell collection. These include two Naṭarājās, and other forms of Śiva; figures of Pārvatī; figures of Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa; and of various Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava saints. Bronzes of this type appear to range in date from the eleventh century onwards, and continue to be made at the present day. The dating of particular examples is always difficult, as they bear no inscriptions, and the modern work is often of excellent quality. The Ceylon examples, from a Śiva Devāle at Poḷonnāruva, now in the Colombo Museum, cannot well be later than the twelfth century, as the city was finally abandoned about 1240. We know, moreover, that images of Śaiva saints were set up in temples by Rājārāja Deva of Tanjore about 1014, and images of Vaiṣṇava saints at least as early as the thirteenth century.² Metal images of the deities must have been set up and worshipped much earlier. It may be further remarked that a comparison of the Brāhmaṇical bronzes with the older Buddhist figures from the Bezwāḍa district shows

¹ Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Bronzes from Ceylon*, Colombo, 1914; Arunachalam, P., *Polonnāruva bronzes and Śivā worship and symbolism*, J. R. A. S., Ceylon branch, Vol. XXIV, 1917. Rodin, A., et al., *Sculptures çivaites de l'Inde*, Ars Asiatica, Vol. III, Paris, 1921.

² Aiyangar, M. Srinivasa, *Tamil studies*, Madras, 1914 (Essay no. xi).

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the continuity of the art: but the former show little trace of the Gupta style, and the majority now extant must be of later than twelfth century date. As elsewhere in Indian art, the earlier examples have fuller, more rounded, features than the more recent works, in which the lips are thinner and the nose becomes sharply aquiline.

The collection is rich in the smaller North Indian brass and copper statuettes of the mediæval period, and several of these carry inscriptions and dates. Almost all are Brāhmaṇical, but one or two are Buddhist, and several, including one of the thirteenth century, are Jaina.

Quite distinct from all the religious art referred to above is an admirable secular work of the Mughal school, a rectangular bronze plaque in low relief in the style of Mughal paintings of the time of Shāh Jahān. I am not acquainted with anything else of the same kind.

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HINDU MYTHOLOGY¹

The following notes are exclusively concerned with mediæval Hinduism and leave out of account the early Vedic cults and the idealistic philosophies.

The outstanding feature of mediæval Hinduism appears in the monotheistic cults of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Devī, who are regarded by their devotees, respectively known as Vaiṣṇavas, Śaivas and Śāktas, as Īśvara or Īśvarī, that is to say, as the Supreme Ruler. Each may be worshipped in many forms and under many names. Less important are the cults of Sūrya (the Sun) and of Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa, and the village and domestic cults of the minor gods and godlings, and those of the canonized saints.

In the ultimate and philosophical sense each and every divinity is to be regarded as an aspect of one and the same unique Energy. The gods “assume the forms that are imagined by their worshippers.”

BRAHMĀ

Brahmā, the personal god of that name, must be distinguished from the neuter Brahman, the all-pervading eternal and formless spirit manifested equally in every form.

The cult of Brahmā, the creator, has long been in abeyance, although subsidiary images are occasionally seen in certain temples. As a member of the Trinity he is associated with Viṣṇu and Śiva, in the composite image called Trimūrti, the three representing respectively the powers of evolution, continuance and involution.

As a separate divinity Brahmā is represented as four-faced and four-armed, holding in two of his hands the Four Vedas: his ‘vehicle’ the swan (*haṁsa*). The consort of Brahmā is Sarasvatī, goddess of music and learning, represented as playing the *vīṇā*.

¹ See especially Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Madras, 1914, 1916 and Śukrācārya, *Sukranūṭisāra*, ch. iv, sect. 4, v. 320. For the iconography, see Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Madras, 1914–16, Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, Madras, 1916, and Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian images*, Calcutta, 1921–: and special articles listed in the Bibliography or quoted in the list of Sculptures, *infra*.

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VIṢṆU

Viṣṇu, Nārāyaṇa or Vāsudeva is worshipped by Vaiṣṇavas as the supreme deity, either alone or accompanied by the goddess Lakṣmī (Śrī): or in one of the ten descents or *avatārs*, of whom by far the most important are Rāma and Kṛṣṇa. The dark blue colour characteristic of Viṣṇu and of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa is that of the sky. In images he is typically represented with four arms and carries as his weapons and attributes the discus (*cakra*), the mace (*gadā*), the conch (*śaṅkha*) and lotus (*padma*), while his 'vehicle' (*vāhanam*) is Garuḍa, a gigantic bird. Viṣṇu is known by many names; the different images are distinguished by the arrangement of the attributes. With him are often represented the ṛṣis Bhṛgu and Mārkaṇḍeya, in attitudes of worship. Most of his aspects are benevolent and gracious. When Viṣṇu is represented with his consort seated upon his thigh, in affectionate converse, the image is known as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa.¹

Incarnate as Rāma, Viṣṇu is the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, taking birth to accomplish the destruction of the *rākṣasa* Rāvaṇa, the demon king of Laṅkā, who brings his fate upon himself by carrying off Sītā, the daughter of Janaka and wife of Rāma. In this incarnation his three brothers were Lakṣmaṇa, Bharata and Satrugṇa. His principal ally was Hanuman, the monkey hero, now a minor divinity.

Incarnate as Kṛṣṇa, he is the hero of certain episodes in the *Mahābhārata*: and in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the related scriptures of mediæval Vaiṣṇavism he is the Divine Herdsman, the lover of the *gopīs* or milkmaids of Brṇḍāban, and especially of Rādhā, whose devotion is the self-surrender of the human soul to God. Kṛṣṇa may also be associated with his two wives Satyabhāmā and Rukminī.

The two consorts of Viṣṇu are Lakṣmī (Śrī), goddess of wealth and prosperity, and Pṛthvī (Bhūmidevī), goddess of earth. The former originated at the churning of the ocean, and is often represented alone as Gaja-Lakṣmī, rising from the waters upon a lotus flower, and laved by two elephants bearing golden vessels in their trunks. The Gaja Lakṣmī type

¹ It will be noted that in all such combinations as Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, Umā-Maheśvara, Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, the feminine name is placed first.

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occurs at an earlier date in Buddhist art, where it represents Mayā Devī. Viṣṇu himself assumed the form of a beautiful woman, Mohinī, for the delusion of the *asuras*, following the Churning of the Ocean.

ŚIVA

Śiva, Maheśvara or Mahādeva, also known as Śambhu, Śaṁkara, Nīlakaṇṭha, etc. regarded as the supreme Īśvara, is the source of all activities. He is typically the great Yogī, conceived as a wandering ascetic of the Himālayas: he is also the Lord of Dancers (Naṭarājā), whose dance is the world process of evolution, continuance and involution. Regarded as a member of the Trinity, he is the Destroyer, and in this aspect his forms include those of many primitive and aboriginal divinities.

Śiva is primarily worshipped in the form of the *liṅgam*, an upright pillar or rod of stone or metal erected on a pedestal called *yoni*. In certain cases the *liṅgam* may become more anthropomorphic in character by the addition of a face or faces. The earliest example (Guḍimallam) is distinctly realistic: and has attached to it a standing, two-armed figure of Śiva himself, standing on a Yakṣa.

The general anthropomorphic form of Śiva is represented with four arms, the upper carrying the drum (*dhakkā* or *ḍamaru*) and deer (*mṛga*) the lower in *varada* and *abhaya hasta* (hands of 'charity' and 'do not fear'). The hair is matted and arranged in the form of a high crown: the crescent moon and the Ganges are represented upon it. Śiva has three eyes and is clothed in a tiger skin, and the usual ornaments. He may or may not be accompanied by Devī; or the bull Nandi, his 'vehicle,' or by both, and by Subrahmaṇya (Kārttikeya) and Gaṇeśa. The ṛṣi Bhṛṅgi may also be represented. He wears a living serpent as necklace. In some cases he is represented as Ardhanārīśvara, half male and half female, combining the forms of Śiva and Devī in one figure. When Śiva is represented with Devī seated upon his thigh, in affectionate converse, the image is known as Umā-Maheśvarā-mūrti.

As Naṭarājā, Śiva dances the cosmic dance already alluded to, as well as other dances. This is but one, although the most important, of many dancing forms, which are classed as *Nṛtta-mūrtis*.

As Gaṅgādhara, he is shown with the Ganges falling from his matted

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locks (at the prayer of Bhagiratha, in accordance with a well-known legend in the *Rāmāyaṇa*), and accompanied by Devī as Gaurī.

The many forms of Śiva images are classified as follows: Samhāra-mūrtis, or destructive aspects; Anugraha-mūrtis, or boon-bestowing aspects; Nṛtta-mūrtis or dancing aspects; Dakṣiṇā-mūrtis, or yogic and philosophic aspects; and miscellaneous.

In the form known as Bhikṣāṭana-mūrti he appears as a nude wandering mendicant. In the four varieties of Dakṣiṇā-mūrti he is represented as the master and teacher of various sciences.

One of his terrible forms is known as Bhairava, a nude figure associated with the ghouls and goblins of the burning ground, and accompanied by a dog.

The consort of Śiva is known by many names, of which the chief are Pārvatī, Umā, Śivakāmī, Gaurī, Kālī, Caṇḍī, Durgā, Devī, Cāmuṇḍā, Amman, etc.

DEVĪ

With each of the chief and minor gods of the Hindu (and Mahāyāna Buddhist) pantheon are assorted one or more goddesses, who in the popular cult are regarded as consorts, but philosophically represent the Power or Energy by which the principle personified in the male god works upon and in the world.

The Goddess (Devī) or Energy (Śakti) usually associated with Śiva is also worshipped by Śāktas as the independent supreme deity of whom all other gods and goddesses are aspects or manifestations: in various forms she appears as the consort of Brahmā, Śiva or Viṣṇu, already referred to, and in the broader sense is the cause of all phenomena whatsoever.

As Durgā or Caṇḍī she is the heroine of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, and is constantly represented iconographically as Mahiṣa-mardinī, the Slayer of Mahiṣa the bull-demon.

As Kālī she has the form of an aged woman with protruding tongue, a tiger skin garment and a garland of skulls and represents the power of destruction and death.

Seven associated female divinities are known as the Sapta Mātṛkās or Seven Mothers, or with Mahā-Lakṣmi forming a group of eight.

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ĀDITYAS AND NAVA-GRAHAS

Sūrya is regarded both as one of the Twelve Ādityas, presiding over the months, or as one of the Nava-graha or Nine 'Planets.' All of the Ādityas and Nava-graha may be iconographically represented and made the object of a cult. The cult of the Sun, which is by far the most important is closely connected with that of Viṣṇu, who is of Solar origin, and is identified with the Sun in the Vedas. The special worship of Sūrya, however, is partly of Persian origin and connected with the fire worship of the Magi.

Sūrya is represented in two forms, a Southern, in which the hands are raised to the shoulders, and hold half-blown lotus flowers, while the feet are bare; and a Northern in which the hands are not raised, the lotus flowers are full blown, and rise to the level of the shoulders, while the feet are clad in high boots similar to those which appear on the figures of Kuṣāṇā kings at Mathurā. In both cases he may be represented as riding in a chariot drawn by four, in later images seven, horses.

Of the Nava-graha, which include the Five Planets proper, the Sun, Moon, and the ascending and descending nodes in an eclipse (Rāhu and Ketu), we need only refer in detail to Rāhu, who is supposed to have devoured his own body and limbs at Śiva's command, and is commonly represented by a grotesque head, known as *kīrti-mukha*, forming the crown of an arch. The grotesque head in later sculptures cannot be distinguished from that of a conventional lion and is often regarded as such in Southern India and Ceylon. The original motif is probably of Central Asian origin and older than the Paurāṇic legend that explains it. Rāhu and Ketu were originally one being, but were cut apart by Viṣṇu in the form of Mohinī, at the festival following the Churning of the Ocean.

AIYANĀR

Aiyanār, Śāsta or Hariharaputra, the son of Śiva by Mohinī is chiefly worshipped as a village deity in Southern India.

GAṆAPATI

Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa is the chief of Śiva's *gaṇas* or followers and is regarded as the son of Śiva and Pārvatī. He is represented as a big-bellied

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dwarf figure, with an elephant's head and usually with four arms, his 'vehicle' being the rat: and is a deity of considerable importance, as he is regarded as the Remover of Difficulties whence his name of Vighneśvara, and is invoked at the commencement of all undertakings, e.g. at the beginning of every book. His attributes are the elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*) and rosary (*akṣamālā*).

SUBRAHMANYA (KĀRTTIKEYA)

Subrahmanya, Kārttikeya or Skanda Kumāra is the son of Śiva and Pārvatī, and god of war. He has six heads, whence he is also known as Ṣanmukha, and his 'vehicle' is the peacock. His Śaktis are Devasenā and Vallī.

MINOR DIVINITIES

The most important of the minor divinities are:

The Regents (Lokapālas) of the quarters and half-quarters, with the Zenith and Nadir; including Indra or Śakra, who is chief of the gods of the lower heavens, and has the elephant for his vehicle: Yama, the ruler of the underworld and judge of the dead: Agni, the god of fire: Varuṇa, god of the waters: Vāyu, the god of wind: Kuvera, chief of the Yakṣas (in Buddhist cults, Jambhala): Nirṛti, and Īsāna.

The river goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā (Ganges and Jamna) are associated with Varuṇa. They are represented as beautiful women, standing respectively on a *makara* and tortoise, usually on door jambs, as *dvārapālas*; but there is a separate shrine of the three sacred rivers Gangā, Yamunā and Sarasvatī, at Elūrā.

Of considerable importance is the cult of the Nāgas, the serpents or hydras of the waters, and guardians of treasure. They are often represented in art as protectors or worshippers of other divinities, especially Buddha, and Pārśvanātha, whom they shelter with their expanded hoods. They may appear in human or semi-human forms.

The Yakṣas (f. *yakṣinī*) or Nature spirits — once the object of an important cult, like that of the Burmese *nāts*, have Kuvera as their chief. Rākṣasas and Asuras, whose chief is Rāvaṇa, are represented as demons in constant conflict with the gods.

Other supernatural beings frequently referred to are the Kinnaras (f. *kinnarī*), who are either sirens, or horse-headed beings, and the Gandharvas

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and Vidyādhara all of these being particularly associated with music: the Apsarases, who are the nymphs or dancing girls of the lower heavens. Dvārapālas are guardian figures (janitors) placed at the entrance of a shrine. Kṣetrapālas are guardians of a protected area.

Kāmadeva (Anāṅga) is the Indian Eros, appearing in Buddhist mythology as Māra.

The various weapons carried by the gods are also deified as *ayudha devatās*. Musical modes are deified as *rāgas* and *raginīs*.

GARUDA

Garuḍa, king of birds, and *vāhanam* (vehicle) and devotee of Viṣṇu, is represented in semi-human form, with the wings, and the beak-like nose, of a gigantic bird.

HANUMAN

Hanuman, the monkey hero, devoted servant and ally of Rāma, is represented in half-human, half-monkey form.

NANDIKĒŚVARA

Nandikēśvara, Adhikāranandi, or Nandi, of whose origin there are varying accounts, is a Śaiva devotee. He may be represented in the form of Śiva himself, or as a bull-faced human being, but much more constantly appears in the form of a bull, and occupies a position in front of a Śiva image. The bull Nandi is moreover Śiva's *vāhanam* (vehicle) and is represented not only *couchant* before a Śiva image, but in friendly association with Śiva in family groups of the Umā-Maheśvara type, both in sculpture (e.g. M. F. A. 21.1720) and in paintings.

RṢIS

The Rṣis or divine sages, 'the wise men of old,' are considered to be seven in number, or of seven classes. They are represented as bearded old men with high dressed hair (*jaṭā mukuṭa*) and wearing the sacred thread. Amongst the best known are Bhṛgu, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vasiṣṭha, Nārada and Valmīki.

BHAKTAS

Numerous Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava *bhaktas* (devotees or saints) have been canonized: their images may be set up in separate temples, or in those of

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the deities to whom they are devoted. Such saints may have been of any caste, and may be either male or female: they are not necessarily *sannyāsīs*. Of Śaiva saints (altogether seventy-three or more in number) the most important are the Four Hymnists Māṇikka Vāṇagar (variously dated, from the first to the seventh century), Tirujñāna Sambandha Swāmi (not later than the seventh century), Appar Swāmi (Tiru-nāvukkarasu) elder contemporary of Tirujñāna Sambandha, and Sundara-mūrti Swāmi (about the eighth century); Candeśvara, and Vyāghrapāda. The Vaiṣṇava saints are grouped in two classes, the first the Twelve Ālvārs (fl. 550–950 A.D.), the second that of the subsequent Ācāryas, including Śrī Rāmānuja and Śrī Vedānta Deśika. With the exception of Vyāghrapāda, who may be given tiger's feet, all the devotees above referred to are represented almost invariably in purely human form, and are to be distinguished by their various activities, attributes and costume. The cults of these saints appear to have originated about the beginning of the eleventh century, if not earlier.

MYTHICAL MONSTERS

A certain number of beings of mixed or grotesque form, such as Garuḍa, Rāhu, *kinnaras*, etc., have already been referred to. In addition to these there are certain mythical beings and monsters frequently met with to which a brief allusion must be made.

The *Nara-simha*, a form assumed by Viṣṇu in one of his ten *avatāras*, has the body of a lion and the head of a man.

The *Gaja-simha* has the body of a lion and the head and trunk of an elephant. In Dravidian architecture, the characteristic rampant *Gaja-simha* is known as a *Yāli*, though this is a term that seems also to cover the lion proper, when used in the same manner.

The *Bheruṇḍa* is either a gigantic double-headed eagle or a gigantic elephant-headed bird, represented as carrying elephants in its claws as it flies.

The *Śarabha* is a combination of bird and lion, with eight feet, a form assumed by Śiva for the destruction of Narasimha.

The *Śeṇapendīya* (Ceylon), or *Sarja anna paḍṇi* (Tam.), is a bird with a dragon's or lion's head.

The *Makara*, an aquatic animal with a dragon's or tapir's head and a

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dolphin- or bird-like body, occurs as the *vāhanam* of Gaṅgā Devī and as Kāmadeva's banner device and in architectural decoration in various forms. A very common form of *prabhā-toraṇa* is the *makara-toraṇa*, when the arch is supported by two *makaras* and crowned by a *kīrti-mukha*.

The *Haṁsa* (*annapadçi*, Tam.), goose or 'swan,' is hardly to be described as a mythical animal, though its position in Hindu mythology as the *vāhanam* of Brahmā, symbolizing discrimination (inasmuch as it can drink from a mixture of milk and water and leave only the water), in romance as the messenger of lovers, and in decorative art as an auspicious emblem, justify the reference to it here.

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BUDDHIST MYTHOLOGY

BUDDHAS

GAUTAMA Buddha is that Prince Siddhārtha of the Śākya clan who attained enlightenment, and has passed beyond the relative into the realm of the unregistrable, whence there is no return. Gautama established a monastic order and taught a system of psychology designed, by destroying the illusion of the Ego, to secure the state of release or freedom called Nirvāṇa. Gautama's austere doctrines did not and could not find immediate expression in art, and it was not until after the time of Aśoka, perhaps in the second, and certainly in the first century B.C., that seated, standing, and reclining images of Gautama began to play an important place in the cult.

The art of the first two or three centuries of the Christian era both in India proper and in Gandhāra, however, appears to be entirely Hīnayānist, and represents only Gautama Buddha and scenes from his life; and also the Bodhisattva Maitreya. The Mahāyāna, however, recognizes many Buddhas other than Gautama, and Bodhisattvas other than Maitreya. The former fall into two classes, the first being that of the 'mortal' or Mānuṣi Buddhas, the second that of the 'contemplative' or Dhyāni Buddhas. According to one tradition of the Mahāyāna, the number of mortal Buddhas is twenty-four, with Gautama as the twenty-fifth. More often the last seven, including Gautama, and with the addition of the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the next Buddha, are included in a group of eight. Most popular, however, in Nepal and in Tibetan and far-Eastern Buddhism is the group of five Mānuṣi Buddhas, corresponding to the five Dhyāni-Buddhas—Vairocana, Akṣobhya, Ratnasambhava, Amitābha, and Amoghasiddha—and the five Dhyāni Bodhisattvas; all these are, according to one school, evolved from one primal Ādi-Buddha, the supreme unique principle.¹ A sixth Dhyāni-Buddha is sometimes recognized in Vajrasattva.

It should be mentioned here that the Mahāyāna propounds a theory of the 'three bodies of Buddha' (*trikāya*). The *Nirmāṇa-kāya* is represented

¹ See especially, Foucher, A., *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1900, 1905. Getty, A., *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914.

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by the mortal Buddha who appears on earth, after the attainment of enlightenment. According to this view, which is akin to the Docetic heresy in Christianity, the visible body of the Buddha is but an apparition, no longer tenanted by any personality, but continuing its activity until the normal time of death, just as the wheel of the potter continues to revolve under its own momentum for some time after the hand of the potter has been removed. The *Sambhoga-kāya* is represented by the Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas, the spiritual emanations of the Dhyāni Buddhas, apparent in heaven. The *Dharma-kāya* is the state of Buddhahood, represented by the Dhyāni Buddha in Nirvāṇa: this is a principle rather than a person.

BODHISATTVAS

The cult of the Bodhisattvas or 'wisdom beings,' Buddhas-elect or Buddhas-designate, goes far back into the history of the Buddhist cult, though its extended development belongs exclusively to the Mahāyāna. The first stage in the 'course' of a Bodhisattva — who is of course, like any other being, subject to repeated incarnation, until the last in which he attains to Buddhahood, but voluntarily postpones this fruition in order that he may remain in the world as a saviour of others — is marked by the practice of the Six Transcendent Virtues: the second stage is reached when he becomes conscious of the will to Buddhahood, receiving the illumination called Bodhi-citta or 'Heart of Wisdom.' At this stage he makes the great vows called *pranidhāna*, dedicating himself to the tasks of a saviour. Then entering on the Path of Bodhi he becomes a Bodhisattva. It is necessary that he should meet, in one of his incarnations, the Buddha of the period, and receive from him an assurance of his future attainment. After many incarnations in which he practises the Ten Transcendent Virtues and is always preoccupied with the will to save all creatures from suffering, he resides in the Tuṣita heaven and may then pass through the thirteen Bodhisattva heavens, finally attaining Nirvāṇa, or be reborn once more on earth, becoming a mortal Buddha and from this station directly entering into Nirvāṇa, as in the case of Gautama. The only mortal Bodhisattva represented in Buddhist art, and the earliest to be recognized in the cult is Maitreya, who is at present in the Tuṣita heaven and will become the next Buddha. All the other Bodhisattvas are 'Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas,' and are

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regarded as the spiritual sons or emanations of the Dhyāni Buddhas. According to one scheme there are five such Dhyāni-Bodhisattvas, viz., Samantabhadra, Vajrapāṇi, Ratnapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi), and Viśvapāṇi. There is also a group of eight, where the additional members are Ākāśagarbha, Kṣitigarbha, Sarva-nivaraṇa-viṣkhambin, Maitreya and Mañjuśrī, while Ratnapāṇi and Viśvapāṇi are omitted.

Avalokiteśvara is the spiritual son of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha, whose earthly manifestation was Gautama Buddha, and continues the work of the latter. Tibetan Buddhists believe that he is incarnate in each successive Dalai-Lama of Lhasa.

The most obvious distinction of Bodhisattva from Buddha figures appears in the fact that the former are dressed in royal garments, with abundant jewellery, and are not represented in *padmāsana* and *dhyāna-mudrā*. They are found, however, in a very great variety of forms.

THE TĀRĀS, AND OTHER FEMININE DIVINITIES

The Tārās are feminine saviour divinities associated with the Bodhisattvas and of equal rank: the cult of Tārā became prominent in Nepalese and Northern Mahāyāna Buddhism only after the sixth century A.D., and has left few traces in the south. The name Tārā is interpreted either as 'star' — the '*stella maris*' of the voyager upon the sea of life — or as 'bearing across' the voyager in the Ship of the Good Law. Tārā, primarily, is the *śakti* or 'energy' associated with Avalokiteśvara, but she is known in many forms, including a familiar group of twenty-one, some of which are benign and others fierce. In this widest sense the designation Tārā covers a number of other feminine divinities, including Kurukullā, Prajñāpāramitā, Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā, Vajra-tārā and Mārīcī.

DHARMAPĀLAS

The Dharmapālas or 'protectors of the faith' are originally Brāhmaṇical or local divinities sworn to defend the Buddhist religion (*dharma*) against the demons and all enemies of Buddhism. The Dharmapālas, in accordance with their function, are represented in terrible (*tāmasik*) forms, with many arms bearing weapons, and are posed in threatening attitudes. But however fierce their forms, the Dharmapālas themselves are benefi-

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cent divinities, and not in any way to be regarded as 'devils.' The Dharmapālas in their earliest and simplest forms may be recognized in the Yakṣa and Nāga guardian figures of Sāñcī and Bārhut. In later Tāntrik Buddhism, in Nepal and Tibet, their representation becomes exceedingly complex and highly synthetic. They are eight in number, one only being feminine. They have the rank of Bodhisattvas.

Of the eight Dharmapālas, Kuvera, regent of the North and god of wealth is by far the most frequently seen: he is represented most commonly in the form of Jambhala, a corpulent figure associated with a mon-goose and money pots.

One of the Yakṣīs frequently represented in Buddhist art is Hāritī, originally the demoness of small-pox, afterwards converted by Buddha: in iconography she is associated with her numerous progeny, the youngest still at her breast, and becomes the 'Buddhist Madonna.' She is often presented side by side with Kuvera.

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JAINA MYTHOLOGY

JINAS

THE historical founder of Jainism, the Jina Mahāvīra, Vardhamāna or Nātaputta was a contemporary of Gautama Buddha and attained enlightenment in 527 B.C. Jaina tradition speaks of twenty-three preceding Jinās, of whom the most important are the first, Ṛṣabha Deva or Ādinātha, the twenty-second Neminātha, and the twenty-third, Pārśvanātha, — the latter of whom is said to have attained enlightenment in 777 B.C. The Jinās are most easily distinguished iconographically by their cognizances, that of Mahāvīra being a lion, that of Pārśvanātha a serpent, and that of Ṛṣabha a bull. The lives of the Jinās are related in the *Kalpa Sūtra*, of which work the Museum possesses illustrated examples from the fifteenth century. The two chief sects are those of the Śvetambaris and the Digambaris, with subdivisions, of which some do not countenance the worship of images. Unlike Buddhism, Jainism survives in India to the present day, and possesses over a million adherents. Jaina art bears a close superficial resemblance to that of Buddhism but maintains a more rigid uniformity.

FEMININE AND OTHER DIVINITIES

Like the Buddhists, the Jainas recognize the existence of most of the gods of the Hindu system, and commonly represent in their art such of them as are connected with the legends of the saints—for example, Indra, Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī, and also the minor divinities, such as the Nāgas, Gandharvas, Apsarases. There is also a domestic cult of certain feminine divinities of whom Ambikā and Padmāvatī are perhaps the most important.¹

¹ For further details on Jaina mythology, see the section of this Catalogue describing the Jaina paintings.

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THE USE OF IMAGES

THE Yoga system, the basis of which is pre-Buddhist, consists in the attainment of certain states of consciousness, chiefly by means of attention, *dharana*, defined as “fixing the mind upon some object defined in space.” The commentary, known as the *Yoga bhāṣya*, quotes from the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*: “The embodied form of the Exalted one leaves one without desire for any other support. This should be understood to be ‘fixed-attention,’ when the mind-stuff is fixed upon this form. . . . Fixed attention is not possible without something on which to fix it.” There follows exclusive focussing of the presented idea upon the object contemplated, and identification of the consciousness with the form of the object contemplated. The visible image of the deity thus presents a means (*sādhana*) of self-identification, or union, with the deity, in the chosen form. This is the rationale or philosophical justification of image worship, to which has been naturally added the idea of service and propitiation, implying ultimately the existence of temples, priests and temple servants.¹

It should be remarked that an icon, whether for permanent or temporary use — many are made for temporary use and subsequently destroyed — has no religious value as such. Apart from the worship paid to it, it is merely a piece of metal or stone. It is prepared for worship by a special ritual of consecration (*āvahana* or “drawing in” — upon the analogy of “conveying,” we might say “inveying” — of the deity) and is then regarded as a special and convenient means of access to the god, who, in his grace, ‘assumes the forms imagined by his worshippers.’ The deity is present in the image and temple, just as in a church, which is spoken of as the “house of God,” notwithstanding that God is actually regarded as omnipresent, or as dwelling in a heaven. An image desecrated or defiled is no longer sacrosanct, and requires a fresh performance of the office of consecration before it is fit for use.

It is true that innumerable texts of Indian scripture declare the un-

¹ On image worship see particularly Avalon, A., *Principles of Tantra*, 1916, Vol. II, ch. xvi and Pillai, J. N., *Studies in Saiva Siddhānta* (Essay on the Personality of God, pp. 234 ff.), Madras, 1911.

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knowableness of God: not to mention the purely philosophical systems, and in particular the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta, an example may be cited from the Tiruvāçakam of Māṇikka Vāçagar, the well-known Śaiva hymnist of the South: "He is passing the description of words, not comprehensible by the mind, not visible to the eye and other senses." But this very same poet elsewhere constantly speaks of the attributes of God, refers to the legendary accounts of his actions, and takes for granted the use and service of images. Similarly, in the *Tiruvaruṭṭayan* of Umāpati 'He is one with Form, One without Form, and both with and without a Form.'¹ The Indian philosopher, in fact, however much he may be an Idealist and Monist, justifies whole-heartedly the worship of a personal God and the use of images, inasmuch as the unshown way (of those who seek a direct attainment of unconditioned consciousness) is "exceeding hard": for himself, as for others, the use of 'means' is an inevitable concession to the nature of mortal beings — the plastic image no less so than the name or the verbal image of the deity.

For one who has realized the supreme Brahman in himself — the mystic who enjoys immediate experience — there is, of course, no necessity to practise any particular mode of worship; an image is merely a 'convenient means' for those who have not attained to such states of grace. Worship implies an object of worship: the Unconditioned and Absolute cannot be so regarded by us, and hence the necessity of icons.

The forms of the deities were at first comparatively few and simple: afterwards, partly by the recognition of new divinities of popular origin, partly by the deification of metaphysical concepts, the number of aspects and variety of form increased. It may be remarked that after the first century A.D. the typical form of a god is four-armed. The additional arms are to carry the attributes of the god: still more complicated forms have come into use at later periods. Finally, it may be said that the visible imagery of the Hindu (and Buddhist) pantheon represents, as precisely as the written texts, an encyclopaedia of Indian psychological and social,

¹ Cf. the well-known prayer of Saṅkarācārya, asking pardon for the threefold error — of having ventured to visualize in contemplation the form of One who is Formless, of having by hymns and psalms praised One who is beyond all speech, and of seeming to limit His omnipresence by visiting sacred shrines.

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ethical and physical science — each divinity or aspect of divinity (for all are referred to one source) representing a particular power or force or combination of forces. The latest concept to be deified after this fashion is that of the Motherland, the *Mātā Bhārata* of Indian Nationalism. The fruit of the worship of such deities results from the effects of the worshipper's own spiritual acts upon his own personality, and is very far from unreal.

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ICONOGRAPHY ¹

Images (*mūrti*, *vigraha*, *bera*) are of two main classes, those, usually of stone, which are permanently established in a shrine (*dhruva* or *yoga bera* or *mūla vigraha*) and those in metal which are carried in procession (*bhoga mūrti* or *utsava vigraha*). The smallest images (*dhyāna bera*) are usually for private use.

The essential part of a temple is the cell or shrine (*garbha-grha*) where the *dhruva bera* is installed. Around this is a narrow passage (*ardha maṇḍapa*) for the circumambulation by the officiating priests. The principal ante-chamber, usually a pillared hall, the *mukha maṇḍapa*, before the shrine, is the limit of approach for all non-Brāhmaṇ worshippers. Separate from the main temple there may be other halls which are used on special occasions, and two platforms, one with a flagstaff (*dhvaja stambha*), the other for use when offerings of food are made to the minor divinities. In important temples there is a separate shrine for the goddess. The whole area is surrounded by a high wall, with four gateways, surmounted in Southern India by the huge towers called *gopuram* which completely dwarf the central shrine. Within or without the wall there is usually a tank, with a central island having upon it a *maṇḍapa*, where the divinity is taken once a year on the occasion of the water festival.

The daily office may be summarily described as the paying of royal honours. The general character of the offerings in a Viṣṇu temple is luxurious, while the chief element in the Śaiva ritual consists of bathing the *liṅgam* with water and the offering of flowers. The office generally includes singing and dancing before the image, by dancing girls (*devadāsīs*) dedicated to the service of the god. As regards the worshippers, other than the officiating priests, it should be understood that the temple is a dwelling erected for the god, not for the congregation: and the latter visit the temple, not to take part in the service, but to see (*darśana*) the god and do their reverence. Certain of the more famous shrines are visited by pilgrims from the most remote parts of India.

In a Buddhist temple, more particularly of the Hīnayāna type, in

¹ Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Madras, 1914-16: Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, Madras, 1916: and Bhattacharya, B. C., *Indian images*, Calcutta, 1921-.

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Ceylon and Burma, the ritual is very much simpler than is the case in Hindu temples, and the lay worshippers approach the image closely, making offerings of flowers and repeating the formula of the Triple Refuge.

Figures of deities may be standing (*sthānaka-mūrti*), seated (*āsana-mūrti*) or reclining (*śayana-mūrti*): the reclining figure, only in the case of Viṣṇu and Buddha, and in some representations of nativities.

The various stances, seats and gestures of images are indicated in a precise terminology. Standing figures when not rigidly erect, but swayed or standing at ease, are classified as *samabhaṅga*, *ābhaṅga* and *tribhaṅga*. In all cases the head, trunk, and limbs are relatively inclined, but in the first the head remains symmetrically erect, in the second the head may be erect or inclined, in the third the head is always inclined. The ultimate differentiation of the various types can only be made by detailed measurement. *Atibhaṅga* is used in reclining images of Viṣṇu and Buddha (but the term is employed by some writers as synonymous with *tribhaṅga*, especially with reference to standing figures of Kṛṣṇa). In some swayed types (especially representations of Kṛṣṇa) the legs are crossed. The pose of standing figures where one leg is bent and advanced sideways, as if striding, is called *ālīdha*. Garuḍa and other flying figures are represented with both knees bent, one leg advanced, the other retired.

The principal seated poses are the *padmāsana*, typically seen in the seated Buddha, where the legs are crossed and each foot rests on the opposite thigh; in *vīrāsana*, the pose is similar, but the right foot lies under instead of upon the left thigh; the *yogāsana*, the legs being similarly crossed, the knees slightly raised and supported by a narrow band called *yoga paṭṭa*; *sukhāsana*, *lalitāsana*, *lalitakṣepa* or *līlākṣepa*, a position of ease or comfort, where one leg remains bent, the other is pendent; *sopāśrayāsana*, when the raised knees are supported by a *yoga-paṭṭa*; *mahārāja-līlā āsana*, 'position of royal pleasure,' where one knee remains bent in the same way, but the other is raised and supports the corresponding arm, the hand hanging over the knee, the body leaning slightly backward and supported by the other arm. Figures seated in the European manner (*pralambapāda āsana*) are less usual, except in the case of Maitreya Bodhisattva; even for Buddhas this type is comparatively rare, and it is not found in Brāhmaṇical art.

Images of deities stand or are seated on thrones (*āsana*) or pedestals

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(*pīṭha*) of various forms. The most frequent form is the circular *padmāsana* or *padma-pīṭha*, the expanded flower of the rose lotus with flat surface and reverted petals. The lion throne (*śimhāsana*) is supported by lions. In the *kurmāsana* and *makarāsana* the tortoise and *makara* are the respective supports. The *bhadra-pīṭha* is rectangular, and may be used alone or in combination with any of the thrones or pedestals already mentioned.

In many cases the seated or standing image is backed by a circular nimbus surrounding the head (*śiraścakra*), or by a circular or oval ring surrounding the whole body (*prabhāvali* or *prabhā-maṇḍala*, Tamil *tiruvāṣi*) and fringed with tongues of flame (*jvālā*). In many places the *prabhāvali* is replaced by an arched screen (*toraṇa*), typically of the form called *makara-toraṇa*, where the supports of the arch are formed by a pair of *makaras* and the crown of the arch consists of the grotesque head called *kīrtimukha*. The arch may carry a variety of additional emblems, or figures of angels (*gandharvas* or *vidyādhara*s), or *avatārs*.

The precise gestures of the hands are of great significance in Indian iconography, and link the plastic arts to that of the dramatic dance. The following poses (*mudrā*, *hasta*)¹ of the hands and fingers are those most frequently to be recognized :

Dhyāna or *yoga mudrā*, the 'seal of meditation,' one hand resting on the other, in the lap of a figure seated in *padmāsana*: *vara* or *varada mudrā*, the 'seal of charity,' or *varada hasta*, the open palm held outwards, the extended fingers directed downwards: *abhaya mudrā*, the 'seal of assurance' ('Do not fear'), (*abhaya hasta*), the open palm held outwards, the extended fingers directed upwards: *cin*, *vyākhyāna* (or *vitarka*), *mudrā*,² the 'seal of exposition' (*haṁsāsya hasta*), the hand in the same position as in *abhaya mudrā*, but the thumb and forefinger touching: *dharmacakra mudrā*, the 'seal of the wheel of the law,' both hands held before the chest, the right as in *cin mudrā*, the left with the palm inward (this only in figures of Buddha, representing the preaching of the first sermon, and the great miracle at Śrāvastī): *bhūmiśparśa mudrā*, the 'seal of touching the

¹ The term *mudrā* (seal) is mainly used in Buddhist iconography: the term *hasta* (hand) exclusively in Hindu iconography.

² The term *vitarka mudrā*, commonly used by certain iconographers, is perhaps without authority: *vitarka* means disputation, *vyākhyāna*, exposition — the latter being obviously more appropriate in images of divinities as teachers.

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earth,' the hand hanging over the knee of a figure seated in *padmāsana*, to touch the earth indicating 'calling the earth to witness' (only with reference to the occasion of the temptation of Buddha by *Māra*): *añjali hasta*, the hands folded palm to palm, in adoration: *kaṭaka hasta* (or *siṃha karṇa*), the hand half closed, the first and second fingers nearly or quite touching the thumb, used in holding attributes, particularly the stems of flowers: *kartarī mukha*, the thumb and third finger bent and nearly or quite in contact, the other fingers outstretched and separated, used in holding attributes (when the hands are raised to the shoulders): *sūci hasta*, like *kaṭaka hasta*, but with the forefinger raised, used in pointing or threatening: *lola hasta*, the hand pendent beside, but not touching, the thigh: *kaṭyavalambita hasta*, the arm pendent, the hand resting on the hip: *daṇḍa* or *gaja hasta*, the arm extended across the chest, the hand pendent (in figures of Naṭarājā, and in dancing female figures at Borobudur).¹

It is also usual for the figures of divinities to be distinguished by the symbols or attributes (*cihṇa*) carried in the hands. Those most commonly seen are the wheel or 'discus'² (*cakra*), mace (*gadā*), sword (*khaḍga*), noose (*pāśa*), conch (*śaṅkha*), drum (*ḍamaru*, *ḍhakkā*), bell (*ghaṇṭā*), flute (*veṇu*, *murali*), lute (*vīṇā*), water gourd (*kamaṇḍalu*), skull cup (*kapāla*), trident (*triśūla*), thunderbolt (*vajra*), elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*), axe (*ṭaṅka*), spear (*śakti*), bow (*dhanu*), arrow (*bāṇa*), shield (*kheṭaka*), rosary (*akṣamālā*), book (*pustaka*), lotus (*padma*), water lily or blue lotus (*nīlotpala*). Twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu having identical attributes are distinguished by the arrangement of these attributes in the four hands.³ These attributes are invariably listed in the following order: lower right hand (l. r. h.), upper right hand (u. r. h.), upper left hand (u. l. h.) and lower left hand (l. l. h.).

The costume of Buddha or a Buddhist monk consists of a lower garment (*antaravāsaka*) bound to the loins by a girdle: an upper garment (*uttarā-*

¹ For further details, see Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography* (not entirely correct): Gangoly, O. C., *South Indian bronzes* (the illustrations often incorrect): Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, and Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mirror of gesture*. Also Longhurst, A. H., Rep. Assist. Arch. Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, 1913-14, Madras, 1914 (Reproductions of sculptures illustrating dance positions mentioned in Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*).

² In Buddhist iconography representing the 'Wheel of the Law,' in Hindu iconography a symbol of the world-process, and a throwing weapon.

³ Bidyabinod, B. B., *Varieties of the Viṣṇu image*, Mem. Arch. Surv. India, No. 2, Calcutta, 1920. Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. I, p. 1, pp. 227-244. Madras, 1914.

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saṅga) which reaches below the knees: and a cloak (*saṅghāṭi*) worn over both. The latter may cover one or both shoulders, and is naturally the most evident, though the lower garment is often visible at the ankles, and the line of the girdle (*kāyabandhana*) often shows through the cloak.

The Buddha has certain physical peculiarities, of which the *uṣṇīṣa* or protuberance of the crown of the skull, and the *ūrṇā* or mole between the brows, are commonly represented; ¹ the hair, except in the Indo-Hellenistic art of Gandhāra, is disposed in short curls, turning to the right. He wears no jewellery, but the ears are elongated by the weight of the earrings worn while still a Bodhisattva. The *śrīvatsa* is a mark like a four-petalled flower, appearing on the chest of Viṣṇu and certain of the Jaina images.

The costume of Bodhisattvas and Brāhmaṇical divinities, male or female, is identical with that of earthly kings and queens, and usually consists of a nether garment (*dhotī*), leaving the upper part of the body bare: in some cases a scarf (*uttarīya*) is draped on the shoulders or worn as a sash. The remainder of the costume consists of jewellery. The crown (*mukuta*) is either of high dressed hair (*jaṭā mukuta*), or the jewelled crown called *kirīṭa mukuta*: the *karaṇḍa mukuta* is lower and plainer. The *kirīṭa mukuta* is generally combined with the four-pointed tiara or diadem (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*), the lower part of which rests on the forehead and may be fringed with pearls, and may or may not completely cover the roots of the hair. The tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*) has four decorated points or 'houses' (*puri*) and is often separately worn without the crown. In early Buddhist art, and also in late Rajput painting, the usual headdress is a turban. Other varieties of headdress are almost endless. The earrings (*kuṇḍala*) are also of several types including the *ratna*-, *makara*- and *patra*-*kuṇḍalas*. A necklace is called *hāra*, or *mālā*, a special form worn by Viṣṇu being the *vaijayanta*, with the jewel *kaustubha*. Armlets (*keyūra*) and bracelets (*kaṅkana*), a belt (*udara bandha*), girdle (*kāñcī*, *mekhala*, or *kaṭi-bandha*), rings (*mudrā*), and anklets (*nupura*) complete the usual jewellery. Divinities and persons of high caste wear the sacred thread (*yajña sūtra* or *yajñopavīta*) in earlier sculptures and in most of the Southern bronzes, a jewelled ribbon or chain, in later sculptures usually a simple

¹ In Hindu iconography, the *uṣṇīṣa* simply designates the crown of the head. The term also applies to the coping of a Buddhist railing (*vedikā*).

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thread like that actually worn by the three higher castes.¹ The *channavīra* is a chain, divided to pass round the neck, joined below the middle of the breast, divided again to pass round the stomach, and united at the back.

The representation of divinities with four² or more arms, and three or more faces may be briefly referred to. We have seen that each personal god is to be regarded as the manifestation of some particular principle or activity of the Supreme Ruler, and ultimately, of the impersonal Brahman. When on the other hand it is desired to indicate the multiple personality and diverse activities of any god, a resort is made to the synthetic method. A four-armed image, for example, may indicate by the two forward arms the protection and charity of the god towards his devotees, while the upper arms may carry the characteristic attributes or weapons of the particular god represented. By a still broader synthesis, the highest gods may be united in a single image (Trimūrti) or the male and female principles combined in a single figure (Ardhanārīśvara).

One and the same god may be represented in a great variety of forms, representing his activity on particular occasions or in particular relationships. Images representing the god in a contemplative aspect with two hands offering protection and charity are known as *sāttvika*, those where the divinity is associated with his 'vehicle,' and is regally adorned, with two hands as before, and others with weapons or attributes are called *rājasika*, while the fierce forms with many arms bearing weapons, and engaged in conflict with demons, are called *tāmasika*. These terms are derived from the names of the three qualities (*guṇas*), pure, passionate and dark, which characterize phenomenal existence. There is also a twofold classification as *śānta* or *saumya* (pacific) and *raudra* or *ugra* (threatening).

Where the whole of the figure is shown, an image is known as *vyakta*, or manifest; when a part only, as *vyaktāvakta*. Non-anthropomorphic symbols like the *liṅgam* are *avyakta* (un-manifest). Non-manifest Vaiṣṇava images are also classified as *yoga*, *bhoga*, *vīra*, and *ābhicārika*, according to their use by those desiring respectively spiritual enlightenment, material advantages, military prowess, or magical powers.

¹ Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde*, Paris, 1914, tome II, ch. 5, *Le cordon brahmanique*.

² In the prescriptions of the *Śilpa Śāstras*, if no other instruction is given, in the case of male deity it is to be understood that a four-armed image is to be made.

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INDIAN SCULPTORS

Hindu sculptors belong to the classes of professional craftsmen. Their organisation may most conveniently be studied in the South. The Kammālars, as they are called, trace their origin from the five sons of Viśvakarmā, the patron deity of architecture and crafts. The five sons were workers in iron; wood; brass, copper and alloys; stone; and gold, silver and gems: but these occupations are not mutually exclusive, and it is not uncommon for the craftsman to be proficient in various arts. He must also be acquainted with the *Silpa Śāstras*, the technical works on design, either in the original Sanskrit or in the vernacular paraphrase. The Kammālars have certain sacerdotal privileges and claim an equality with Brāhmaṇas. As in other occupational castes, they are associated in a kind of guild organisation, with a system of apprenticeship, and economic protection: the tradition is handed down in pupillary succession, and no amateur is permitted to practise.

The imager is called a Sthapati, or 'setter up': the term *Silpan* is also applied to any master craftsman. The tradition is canonical or hieratic, that is to say, the proportions of temples and the forms of images are determined by hieratic prescriptions embodied in the *Silpa Śāstras*. The texts prescribing the form of an image are called *dhyāna mantram* or *sādhanā* and are similar to those which are the basis of visualisation in the usual ritual of personal worship. The forms prescribed are intended to be realised by the craftsman in a vivid mental image which serves as his 'model.'

An art such as this is always impersonal, that is to say, it is never an expression of personal idiosyncrasy. Nor can any one form be traced to the invention of an individual mind: behind the craftsman is the unanimous consciousness of the race, as behind the priest there is the church. The imager is such by hereditary vocation, and unlike the modern 'artist,' with his temperament, he belongs to the bourgeoisie, and should be a God-fearing, well-conducted householder, like any other professional man: unconventionality, in India, is tolerated only in a saint.

The *Silpa Śāstras* also embody canons of proportion for the various kinds of images, and tabulate the measurements of the different parts of the body in the greatest detail. The system is worked out through an ar-

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rangement of plumb lines, which, combined with the horizontal measurements, constitute a three-dimensional 'web.'¹

As regards technique, it need only be observed that the metal images are cast by the *cire-perdue* process; some being solid, others cast upon an earthy core. Few are in bronze, the majority in copper or brass: those in copper are tooled and sometimes jewelled, those in brass are tooled, and in some cases inlaid with silver. A few of the Nepalese pieces are repoussé plaques. A majority of examples have been originally gilt. As regards the works in stone, there is little doubt that these were originally coated with a thin skin of fine plaster, and painted in symbolic colours.

¹ Rao, T. A. G., *Talamāna or iconometry*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 3, Calcutta, 1920.

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LIST OF SCULPTURES

SUNGA, KUṢĀNA AND LATE ĀNDHRA¹

BRĀHMAṆICAL, INDIA PROPER

21.1706. Sūrya: squatting figure with knees raised (i. e. riding in a car) wearing a conical cap or helmet, chain armor, a dhoti ? and boots ? or socks, also earrings, necklace, bracelets, and perhaps a sacred thread. The r. h. holding a club (*gadā*), the left a staff (*daṇḍa*). Horses represented below to r. and l., the front pair (of the four) only being clearly defined.

Whether or not the deity is intended to be represented as wearing high boots, as is usual in the early Northern forms with Iranian affinities cannot be clearly determined in the worn state of the sculpture. Apparently some kind of leg armor is intended. The absence of any indication of toes suggests the use of a sock or boot.

Cream sandstone. Mathurā. First century A.D.

Dimensions, .202 × .135 × .061 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund, 1921.

Representations of the Sun god are by no means rare in early Indian art. The earliest may be the relief at Bhājā (Burgess, J., *Ancient monuments . . . of India*, pt. 2, pl. 178). An example from Bodh Gayā, now in the British Museum, is reproduced by Rājendrālala Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, pl. L, and by Foucher, A., *Les bas-reliefs gréco-bouddhiques du Gandhāra*, fig. 82. The subject was a favorite one in the first centuries, B.C. (Marshall, J. H., in J. R. A. S., London, 1908, pp. 1096ff.). For a general account of Sūrya images see Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. I, pt. 2 (Adityas and Navagrahas); Sastri, H. K., *South Indian gods and goddesses*, Ch. VII; Nāgendranāth Vasu, in *Archæological survey of Mayurabhanja*. Calcutta, n. d. (1911?); and Bhattacharja, D. C., *Indian images*. Calcutta, 1921.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 119, 1922.

PLATE I.

21.1709. Devī: fragment in high relief, broken away below the waist. The goddess is four-armed: the u. r. h. carried a sword (*khaḍga*), the u. l. h.

¹ All sculptures earlier than the fourth century A.D. are here included.

SCULPTURE

the trident (*triśūla*). The remaining hands and attributes broken. The hair is drawn back into a large chignon: the goddess wears earrings, necklaces, spiral bracelets, and a scarf. Mathurā district.

Red sandstone: late Kuṣāṇ or early Gupta.

Height, .153 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE III.

BUDDHIST, INDIA PROPER

a. Mathurā

17.3120. Head of Buddha, much worn.

Mottled sandstone, Mathurā. About third century A.D.

Height, .275 m. Gift of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy.

This is a massive and powerful head and of the pure tradition of older Indian art. It may be contrasted on the one hand with M. F. A. 19.802, from which it differs as widely as possible, and on the other with M. F. A. 21.2230, which shows the refinement of the type which had taken place by the middle of the Gupta period.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 104, December, 1919.

Plate II.

21.1701. Kuvera, or other *yakṣa*, standing figure, much defaced, the right hand raised in a gesture resembling *abhaya mudrā*, the left holding a long staff.

Mottled red sandstone. Aligarh district. First century, A.D.

Height, .247 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Cf. Archæological Survey of India, Ann. Rep., 1916–17, pt. 1, pl. VII, d.

PLATE III.

21.1703. Lower portion of railing pillar from a miniature stūpa: obverse with a Bacchanalian group of a pot-bellied male (Jambhala, Kuvera or Pāñcika), and two female figures, reverse with lotus rosettes.

The male figure, probably more or less intoxicated, is bearded, and wears only a pair of short tight drawers; the right arm is raised but bent at the elbow (the pendent hand perhaps supporting the foot of the female figure behind); the left arm embraces the female figure to the proper left. This female figure is clothed in a tunic and long skirt; the left hand rests on the protuberant belly of the male. The second female figure, now lacking

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the head, appears on the proper right behind the male, and is visible only to the waist; the right hand rests on the shoulder of the male.

Red sandstone. Aligarh or Mathurā district. First century A.D.

Height, .13 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Several sculptures of this type have been discovered at Mathurā, and related Bacchanalian scenes are represented amongst the sculptures of Gandhāra. The type of the male figure is derived from that of the Classical Silenus, but the theme is almost certainly Buddhist, and the personage a Yakṣa, probably Pāñcika, and connected with Yakṣa worship surviving in Buddhist cult: but the significance of these groups has not yet been fully explained.

Cf. Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1906–07, *The Mathura school of sculpture*, pp. 137–160; Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of Archæological Museum at Mathura*, 1910, p. 83 and pl. XIII; Smith, V. A., *History of fine art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, pp. 134–138; Vogel, J. Ph., *Études de sculpture bouddhique*, Bull. de l'École française d'Extrême Orient, t. VIII, 1908, pp. 490–492, and fig. 2; Foucher, A., *Les bas-reliefs gréco-bouddhiques du Gandhāra*.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 120, August, 1922.

PLATE III.

21.1700. Head of a female (?) figure, probably Buddhist; the hair brushed smoothly back and laterally. Somewhat battered.

Mottled red sandstone. Mathurā. Second to third century A.D.

Dimensions, .187 × .070 × .093 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE IV.

21.1712. Head of a male figure, probably Buddhist.

Red sandstone. Mathurā district. Late Kuṣāṇ or early Gupta.

Height, .132 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE IV.

21.1713. Head of a male figure, probably Buddhist: much worn, and the back broken away.

Mottled red sandstone. Mathurā. Late Kuṣāṇ or early Gupta.

Height, .125 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE IV.

SCULPTURE

21.1698. Head and bust of a female figure (probably a *yakṣinī*), the arms and remainder of the body missing. Scarf across the back, jewellery: hair ornaments, large circular earrings, and two necklaces. Probably part of a railing pillar.

Red sandstone. Aligarh or Mathurā district. First century A.D. or earlier.

Height, .268 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE V.

21.1715. Head and bust of a female figure (probably a *yakṣinī*), the hands clasped behind the head (amorous gesture). Jewellery: heavy pearl earrings, pearl necklace, thin spiral bangles. In high relief, considerably battered. Probably part of a railing pillar.

Red sandstone. Aligarh district. First century A.D. or earlier.

Height, .255 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 120, 1922.

PLATE VI.

21.1695. Head and bust of a Nāga figure, the hands clasped in worship.

The Nāga is in semi-human form, with the expanded hood of a seven-headed cobra rising above the head: he wears a high turban, earrings, armlets, bracelet and necklace. The leaves of a tree appear to the left above. All below the waist is lost.

Red sandstone. Mathurā or Aligarh. First to second century A.D.

Height, .185 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Part of a larger composition; probably from a relief illustrating the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha's first bath, when the two Nāga kings Nanda and Upananda showered streams of water on the new-born child, who already stood erect. See Vogel, J. Ph. *The Mathurā school of sculpture*, Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1906-07, pl. LIII (a), and p. 152.

PLATE VI.

21.1697. Capital of a pillar, of the 'Indo-Persepolitan' type: four humped bulls couchant addorsed, above and between each a tree (except at the back), and above the heads of each of the two bulls at the front angles, lions rampant. Remains of tenon above.

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Mottled red sandstone. Mathurā. First to second century A.D.

Dimensions, .174 × .132 × .991 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

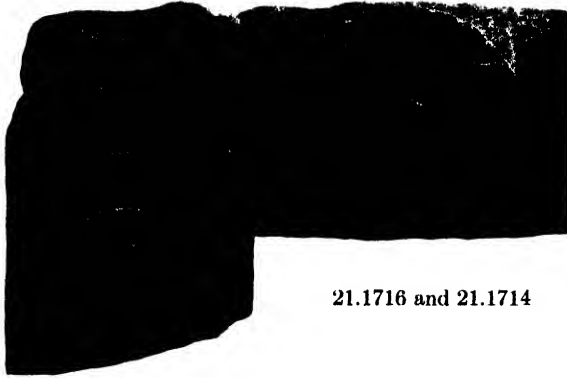
PLATE VI.

21.1716. Portion of a railing pillar (*thaba*), with a lotus rosette and part of a second rosette. Reverse plain. Lenticular hollows at the sides for insertion of cross bars, corresponding in size to the cross bar fragment,

M. F. A. 21.1714.

Red sandstone. Probably from the Aligarh district. First to second century A.D.

Height, .27 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.



21.1716 and 21.1714

21.1714. Portion of a cross bar (*sūcī*) of a *stūpa* railing (*vedikā*), Buddhist or Jain; viz., a stone bar, lenticular in

section, with a lotus rosette on either side in high relief.

Red sandstone. Mathurā district. First to second century A.D.

Height, .283 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

21.1711. Fragment of architectural sculpture, consisting of the upper part of a slab, terminating in a tenon, and carved in high relief with the figure of a *yakṣinī*, whose left arm is raised, grasping a branch of an *aśoka* tree (woman and tree motif).

Red sandstone. Mathurā district. Second to third century A.D.

Height, .160 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE III.

21.1702. Fragment of architectural ornament consisting of a female head surmounted by a horizontal course.

Mottled red sandstone. Mathurā district. Second to third century A.D.

Height, .120 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE IV.

SCULPTURE

b. *Amarāvātī*

21.1520. Head of a Buddha figure, much battered: the *uṣṇīṣa* not prominent; the hair in small curls.

White marble. *Amarāvātī*. Second to third century A.D.

Height, .212 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras.

Published: Burgess, J. *The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvātī and Jagayyapeta*, London, 1887, pl. LVI, fig. 7, right; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 120, 1922.

PLATE VII.

21.1522. Head of Buddha, much worn: *uṣṇīṣa* conspicuous.

White stucco. *Amarāvātī*. Second century A.D.

Height, .164 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1291. Detached female head, from a relief.

Grey marble. *Amarāvātī*. Second century A.D.

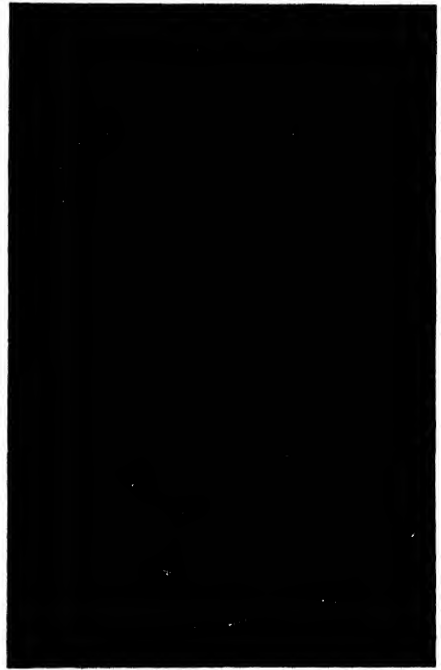
Height, .143 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1513. Relief, Bodhi tree rising over a throne, with worshippers.

Grey marble. *Amarāvātī*. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, .810 × .882 × .123 m.: relief incised to a depth of .053 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

A casing slab of the *stūpa*, nearly complete, lacking only a part along the top. The figures are countersunk, in high relief: there is a plain plinth below, and a pilaster on the right, with half-lotus rosette at the top and bottom, and a full lotus rosette in the middle. The *Bodhi-druma* or Wisdom-tree rises behind an elaborate throne; cushion-like objects are represented as resting on the throne, while on the ground, between the throne



21.1291

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

legs, is a footstool with representation of the feet of the Buddha (*pādukā*). These symbols indicate the presence of the Buddha on the occasion of the Great Enlightenment (*Mahā-sambodhi*). Of the worshipping figures, all standing erect, the two inner ones are male, the two outer female: all carry jars containing flowers (*puppha-puṇṇaghata*). Above these, and flying towards the tree, are represented two Vidyādhara. Thus the panel closely resembles the one described and illustrated by Burgess (*The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jagayyapeta*, p. 91 and pl. XLVI, fig. 3). This must have been one of the lower series of casing slabs; the next above it probably bore a representation of the worship of the Wheel of the Law (*Dharma-cakra*), as in M. F. A. 21.1505 and 21.1507.

Published: Coomaraswamy A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 120, 1922. PLATE VIII.

21.1505. Relief, worship of the *Dharma-cakra* (Wheel of the Law): fragment, two male figures, one standing with a *caurī*, the other seated worshipping, beside the Wheel, which is supported on a pillar, the capital of which bears two lions; around the wheel are small *triratna* symbols. Above the human figures, a Vidyādhara flying towards the Wheel, with offerings. This is the left hand portion of a casing slab of the second tier.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, .820 × .530 × .120 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. PLATE IX.

21.1507. Relief, worship of the *Dharma-cakra* (Wheel of the Law): fragment, showing a Vidyādhara flying towards the Wheel with offerings. Along the upper edge there is a border of running lions. This is the upper left hand and central portion of a casing slab of the second tier, similar to M. F. A. 21.1505.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, .670 × .522 × .150 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. PLATE X.

21.1523. Relief, three male figures, one complete, two incomplete, worshipping a seated Buddha on a throne: only a part of the right knee of the Buddha figure is preserved. Lower edge with a border of lions and lotuses. This is the left hand lower corner of a casing slab of the stūpa.

SCULPTURE

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, $.400 \times .423 \times .120$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE X.

21.1512. Relief, worship of a Buddhist symbol: fragment, seated male figure worshipping, a Vidyādhara with offerings above: on the right side a pilaster with half-lotus rosettes above and below and a full lotus rosette in the centre: borders, above, undulating vine with 'palmettes' and half-lotus rosettes, below, with running lions. This is the right hand portion of a casing slab of the second tier, similar to M. F. A. 21.1507 and 21.1523.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, $.814 \times .440 \times .125$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE VIII.

21.1514. Relief: fragment, worshipping male figure seated, with pilaster at side and ornamented band below. This is the lower right hand corner of a casing slab.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, $.435 \times .325 \times .094$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE XII.

21.1515. Relief, with upper part of a male figure and parts of four female figures. Probably a part of a railing pillar.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, $.395 \times .385 \times .086$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE XI.

21.1510. Relief, fragment, nearly complete figure of a woman seated playing a lute, with small parts of other details.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, $.370 \times .328 \times .115$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE XII.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

21.1511. Relief, with *dharma-cakra* supporting *triratna*; below, a course with lotus ('palmette' type, blue lotus) ornament.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, .537 × .37 × .11 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

Part of a casing slab: see Burgess, J., *The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayapeta*, London, 1887, pl. XLVIII, fig. 2.

PLATE XII.

21.1509. Relief, *puppha-puṇṇaghaṭa*, lotuses springing from a vase, of which only the neck is preserved, the globular part of the vase and many of the lotus sprays being broken.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, .485 × .410 × .140 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

Part of a casing slab: cf. Burgess, Jr. *The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayapeta*, pl. XLVII, 1 and 2. The *puṇṇaghaṭa* or filled vase, and *puppha-puṇṇaghaṭa* or filled vase of flowers are auspicious symbols constantly met with in Buddhist art.

PLATE XII.

21.1529. Lower portion of a railing pillar (*thaba*), with rough hewn base and half-lotus rosette on each face. Obverse with half-lotus rosette, above a course of floral ornament proceeding from the open mouth of a *makara*: above the rosette remains of a scene with figures, one in monastic robes. Reverse with half-lotus rosette, over a course of floral ornament proceeding from the open mouth of a *makara*: much defaced.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, 1.54 × .94 × .26 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE XIII.

21.1525. Part of a lotus rosette from a railing pillar.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, .490 × .275 × .120 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE VIII.

SCULPTURE

21.1528. Railing cross bar (*sūci*), lenticular in section at each end, with lotus rosette on each face: obverse perfect, reverse much injured.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, $.865 \times 1.05 \times .225$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE XIV.

21.1506. Relief, male figure bearing a part of a thick floral garland: in the space to the right, a representation of the worship of the *Dharmacakra*.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, $.842 \times .715 \times .134$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

This is a fragment of the front face of the rail coping (*uṣṇīṣa*) representing about seven-tenths of the full height of the coping, and less than half its thickness (the back being split away). The coping was carved on both sides: on the front, with a long wavy roll, supported by men at intervals of about .62 m., with sculptures in the v-shaped spaces where the roll hangs down between the bearers. The roll is variously represented—in the present case, as if wrapped round with strips of decorated muslin. Above the bearer's head, the roll is encircled by a band, from the upper edges of which project ornamental leaves. Half way down on each side it is encircled by narrower ties. In the spaces above the roll are represented various themes, in the present case, the worship of the Wheel (as in M. F. A. 21.1507 and 1508). Originally a narrow decorative border ran above and below the wavy roll and its bearers: none of this is preserved. The rounded top of the coping is wholly gone.

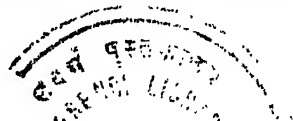
PLATE XV.

21.1508. Relief, with male figure carrying a floral garland, which is being drawn out of the mouth of a *makara*.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Dimensions, $.488 \times .962 \times .116$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

This is a fragment of the front face of the rail coping (*uṣṇīṣa*), similar to M. F. A. 21.1506, but is from one of the coping ends, at a corner or gateway. Here the roll is being drawn out of the mouth of a *makara*. Of the *makara*



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only a part of the head, and of the human bearer only the part below the shoulders is complete: but the floral band along the lower edge remains. The roll itself is carved with three different designs along its length.

PLATE XV.

21.1516. Relief, a *stūpa* with worshipping figures, a fragment showing only the drum of the *stūpa* and one figure from the thighs up.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. Second century A.D.

Height, .342 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

From the outer face of the coping of the rail, where the scene occupied the inverted triangular space between two bends of the floral roll. Like Burgess, J., *The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayapeta*, London, 1887, pl. xxviii, fig. 2.

PLATE XI.

21.1524. Left hand end of an architrave, countersunk in low relief, with figures of a *makara* and lion.

Grey marble. Amarāvati. First century B.C.

Dimensions, .67 × .17 × .115 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

Originally part of a *torana*. See M. F. A. 21.1517.

PLATE XI.

21.1517. Left hand portion of an architrave, countersunk in low relief, with figures of men and animals (boar? and lion).

Grey marble. Amarāvati. First century B.C.

Dimensions, .293 × .705 × .133 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

Originally part of a *torana* (not, I think, "a circle," as suggested by Burgess, *vide loc. cit. infra*, p. 69).

Published: Burgess, J., *The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvati and Jaggayapeta*, London, 1887, pl. xxxi, fig. 2. Burgess remarks (p. 69): "A fragment (fig. 2) 2 feet 4 inches by 11½ inches broad and 5 inches thick, found at the south gate, has a curve on the plane of its face showing that it must have formed part of a circle about 11 feet in diameter. Though much worn, the style of the carving can be so far made out as to assimilate it with these earlier sculptures. The animals are not well drawn, and the

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motion is constrained." Speaking generally of the 'earlier sculptures,' Burgess remarks that they "evidently belong to a much earlier period of art . . . the carving is quite surface work, not at all so deep as in the later style."

What appears to be another part of the same stone is illustrated by Rea, A., *South Indian Buddhist antiquities*, Madras, 1894, pl. xli, fig. 2, and p. 49.

PLATE XI.

BUDDHIST, GANDHĀRA

19.802. Head of Buddha: the hair waved and dressed on the crown of the head, covering the *uṣṇīṣa*; the *ūrṇā* conspicuous.

Micaceous slate. Gandhāra. First to second century A.D.

Height, .244 m. Ross Collection.

A fine example of Gandhāra sculpture, perfectly preserved, with the exception of the pendent portion of the left ear. Finely chiselled but effeminate features.

In this example it is clear that the locks are disposed over a cranial protuberance, and not merely dressed in a chignon. There are other examples of the same kind, where a "parting" runs continuously up and over the "bump," including one at the Louvre (Foucher, *loc. cit.* fig. 446), which show that the cranial protuberance was already consciously represented in Gandhāra art, and was not a later development.¹



19.802

¹ In any case, as remarked by Sir John Marshall (*Archæological exploration in India*, J. R. A. S., London, 1908, p. 1098 and pl. iv, 4), the unidentified standing figure on one of the Bodhgayā railing pillars "proves that the *uṣṇīṣa* was no new feature introduced by the Gandhāra school of art." See also Waddell, L. A., *Buddha's diadem or uṣṇīṣa*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, vol. iii, 1915, where it is argued that the Buddha type is modelled on the descriptions of the Brāhmaṇical Mahā-Puruṣa, Nārāyaṇa-Viṣṇu, and the diadem is derived from Varuṇa's hood.

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Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Indian stone sculptures*, Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston, no. 104, December, 1919. Cf. Foucher, A., *Les bas-reliefs gréco-bouddhiques du Gandhāra*, pt. 11, figs. 449, 456.

PLATE XVI.

07.493. The Assault of Māra (Māra-dharṣaṇa). A complete composition superficially damaged, showing the Bodhisattva — soon to become a Buddha — seated in *bhūmiśparśa mudrā* (calling the earth to witness) in refutation of Māra. Above the Bodhisattva hang down the branches of the *bodhi* tree, but little resembling the actual *aśvattha*. Right and left of the seated figure are the members of Māra's army, brandishing various weapons. Below the throne are three fallen warriors, one head downwards. In the upper corners right and left are two groups of four persons, those on the right in monastic robes: those on the left perhaps the Regents of the Quarters.

Bas-relief in micaceous slate. Second to third century A.D. Excavated at Chitral about 1897.

Dimensions, .502 × .370 m. Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 29, 1907.

Cf. Foucher, A., *Les bas-reliefs gréco-bouddhiques du Gandhāra*, pp. 399–408. Cf. also M. F. A. 20.589, *infra*.

PLATE XVII.

07.491. Parinirvāṇa of Buddha. The Buddha reclining on a couch, the head to the proper right. Only one of the two Śāla trees, which should be seen right and left of the couch can be recognized. Around and below the couch are the figures of monks and laymen or gods some in attitudes expressing violent grief, others resigned to the “inevitable dissolution of whatever has come into being.” Between the two seated figures in front of the couch there hangs a water vessel suspended from a tripod: of the two seated figures the one with hanging head is perhaps Ānanda, the other probably the recluse Subhadra of Kuśinagara, the last convert of the Buddha.¹ Amongst the figures in lay costume standing behind the bed the god Brahmā is probably to be recognized. The well preserved figure, at the head of the bed, is Indra or Vajrapāṇi, with the *vajra* in his left hand.

¹ Cf. Sahni, D. R. and Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnāth*, p. 185, item C(a) 1 d.

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Bas-relief in micaceous slate. Second to third century A.D. Excavated at Chitral about 1897.

Height, .48 m. Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 29. Cf. Foucher, A., *Les bas-reliefs gréco-bouddhiques du Gandhāra*, pp. 555–573.

PLATE XVII.

07.492. Decorative fragment. The three central panels, each showing the Buddha standing between two other figures, in monastic costume. The narrow panel to proper left shows the group of seven seated Buddhas: the subject of the five compartments of the narrow panel to the proper left is doubtful, each compartment showing two monastic figures in conversation.

Bas-relief in micaceous slate. First to second century A.D.

Height, .56 m. Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

Closely resembles the side portion of a “false niche” built out from the side of a *stūpa*, illustrated by Spooner, D. B., *Excavations at Sahri-Bahlol*, Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1906–07, Calcutta, 1909, pl. xxxi, B.

PLATE XVIII.

07.490. Fragment, with two figures in high relief.

Micaceous slate. First to second century A.D. Excavated at Chitral about 1897.

Height, .34 m. Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

PLATE XVIII.

07.489. Decorative fragment, branch with leaves and fruit, and a bird.

Micaceous slate. First to second century A.D. Excavated at Chitral about 1897.

Height, .21 m. Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

PLATE XVIII.

07.488. Throne arm (?) Fragment, consisting of the forepart of a seated lion, and a naked boy holding a bowl from which the lion is drinking.

Micaceous slate. First to second century A.D. Excavated at Chitral about 1897.

Height, .21 m. Gift of Edward W. Forbes.

PLATE XVIII.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

GUPTA

BRĀHMANICAL, INDIA PROPER

17.1015. Viṣṇu: upper part of a three-headed and four-armed figure. The right and left heads respectively those of a lion and boar. Elaborate headdress, heavy earrings, armlets and necklace: a garland of flowers over the arms. The braided cord representing the sacred thread (*yajñopavīta* or *yajña sūtra*) is knotted with a flower below the left shoulder. The forms are full and massive, the shoulders very broad, the waist slender. The arms from above the elbow and the body from the waist downwards are missing, and the features damaged. A plain circular nimbus (*śiras-cakra*) behind the head.

Red sandstone. Originally covered with gesso, of which traces remain. Mathurā. Fifth century A.D.

Height, .658 m. Ross Collection.

The three heads recall those of Mārīcī, the goddess of Dawn: but this is undoubtedly a male figure. Three-faced Viṣṇu images of this type are met with in Kāśmīr, the head to the left being, as in the present example, that of a boar. Similar images are also met with in Kuḷu (Vogel, J. Ph., in Arch. Surv. of India, Ann. Rep., 1903-04 (190-), p. 218).

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 104, 1919.

PLATE XIX.

BUDDHIST, INDIA PROPER

21.2230. Head of Buddha, over life size, probably from a standing image. The *uṣṇāṣa* conspicuous, the hair in short curls, no *ūrṇā*. The back of the head appears to have been attached, no doubt to a large circular nimbus, the whole figure having been in very high relief. The nose broken, otherwise perfectly preserved.

Mottled red sandstone. Mathurā. Fifth century A.D.

Height, .323 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

When complete, the figure must have very closely resembled the well-known standing image of Buddha from the Jamālpur mound, now in the

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Mathurā Museum (Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahābād, 1910, pl. ix and pp. 49–50).

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 120, 1922.

PLATE XX.

21.1696. Head of Buddha, somewhat battered, the hair in small curls, *uṣṇīṣa* prominent: no *ūrṇā*. The face has been daubed with vermilion, showing that the head has been worshipped as a Hindu image in later times.

Red sandstone. Mathurā. Fourth century A.D. (?)

Height, .144 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE VI.

21.1504. Gautama Buddha, standing figure, the left hand holding up the gathered end of the robes, the right hand and left foot missing: *uṣṇīṣa* and *ūrṇā* typically developed. Burma: or perhaps from Buddhapāḍ near Bezwāda.

Gupta. Sixth century A.D.

Height, .503 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

The right hand now missing must have been held in *abhaya* or *varada mudrā* (as in Sewell, *Some Buddhist bronzes*, J. R. A. S., 1895, figs. 2 and 3): the left hand is approximately in *kaṭaka hasta*, but the thumb and fingers are not in contact. The monastic robes cover only the left shoulder; the inner robe is very clearly seen at the angles. The indenture of the girdle is clearly marked. The robes are thin and cling very closely to the body, fully revealing the form. The hair is disposed in numerous short curls, turning to the right, and covering the crown of the head and the *uṣṇīṣa*. The type is full fleshed, but elegantly built, the shoulders very broad, the hips narrow, without any marked slenderness of the waist. The eyes are slightly downcast (*nimīlita*, characteristic of the aspect of a sage). The nose is sharp, the nostrils broad, the lips, especially the lower lip, very full (cf. the well-known Maheśa-mūrti, or Trimūrti, at Elephanta). The casting is about 4 mm. in thickness, over a hard earthy core: the surface is patinated to a rather light green, and partly covered with a calcareous incrustation. It may be noticed that the Buddhapāḍ remains — amounting to several basketfuls of images and fragments—were found while excavating a canal.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Buddhapāḍ is some twenty miles west of the right bank of the Kṛṣṇā river, and thirty miles from the nearest mouth of the delta: not far (about fifty miles) from Amarāvati. This district was an eastern seat of the Āndhra kingdom. Coḷa, Pallava and Eastern Chālukya dynasties succeeded the Āndhra. The district had evidently been a flourishing Buddhist centre for many centuries. A Pallava king dedicated an image at Amarāvati in the fifth century and is described as a Buddhist and this may have been true of the other members of the family. On the other hand Hsüan Tsang, A.D. 639, speaks of Buddhism in the Kṛṣṇā district as already decaying. The burial of the Buddhapāḍ images may be a sign of these times: or incidental to the wars between the Pallavas and Chālukyas. These considerations would lead us in a general way to date the Buddhapāḍ images not later than the early part of the seventh century: which entirely accords with the evidence of style, which suggests a dating within the sixth century.

This figure is described in the list of donations from the Government Museum, Madras, as Burmese. It is assumed above that this may be an error, and that the image comes from the Bezwāda finds. If it should actually have been obtained in Burma, it remains most probably of Indian origin: if made in Burma, however, it would show that Indian art of the Gupta period, which we know to have been reflected in Siam, was exactly reproduced in Burma — just as in the case of the Čam figure referred to below.

A very similar seated figure of Buddha, the right hand holding the end of the robe (not a 'lotus,' as wrongly stated in the description of the Plate) in exactly the same manner has been found at Badullā, Ceylon, and is now in the Colombo Museum (Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Bronzes in the Colombo Museum*, Colombo, 1914, pl. xvii, fig. 46 and p. 20). This, it has been pointed out by H. Parmentier (Bull. de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, tome XIX, V. 63, 1919), closely resembles a Buddha figure from Dong Du'ong in Čampā (*ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 471, 472, figs. 42, 43) which he therefore considers to be of Indian origin. This (reproduced by Rougier, V., *Nouvelles Découvertes čames au Quang-Nam*, Bull. Comm. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1912, p. 212 and pl. ix and assigned in an editorial note to the third century A.D.: also reproduced in Bull. de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, tome XXI, 1922, pl. xi) is a standing figure, lacking the

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right arm: but the right hand is separately preserved, and is in *vyākhyāna mudrā*, while the left hand holds the folds of the robe as in the other examples referred to. The Ceylon example, already assigned to the fifth or sixth century, is in full Gupta style, like that of the Museum of Fine Arts: the Čam example appears to be of somewhat earlier date, and rather more Ceylonese than Indian in character (cf. *Viśvakarmā*, pl. xv). For earlier figures of the same general type, from Amarāvati and Ceylon, cf. *Viśvakarmā*, pls. xxiv and ix, and Rea, A., *Excavations at Amarāvati*, Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1908–09, pl. xxviii, c.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 120, 1922.

PLATE XXI.

BUDDHIST, CEYLON

17.2352. Bird cage hook in the form of a lion rampant, with hook above and ring below.

Bronze. Sixth century (?)

Length, .177 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

EARLY AND MID-MEDIÆVAL

BRĀHMANICAL, INDIA PROPER

a. Śaiva

21.1720. Śiva and Umā (*Umā-Maheśvara-mūrti*) group: with Gaṇapati, Subrahmanya, Nandi, and other figures.

Śiva (Maheśvara), seated at ease (*lalitāsana*) to proper right, with right leg pendent, is four-armed: the l. r. h. is raised above the breast and holds a small object, not recognizable (perhaps a *Datura* fruit), the u. r. h. is raised to the shoulder and holds an attribute, now broken, perhaps originally the trident (*triśūla*); the u. l. h. is raised to the level of the head-dress and holds what appears to be a bow (*dhanus*), the l. l. h. is passed behind Pārvati's neck and rests against her left upper arm. Śiva wears a *dhotī*, jewelled hair band, earrings (*kuṇḍala*), armlets (*keyūra*), bracelets (*kaṅkana*), necklace (*hārā*), and a sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) of quite simple form: also a *yoga paṭṭa*, passing around the waist and right knee. His hair is dressed in high loops (*jaṭā mukuṭa*). A cobra raises its head above the deity's right shoulder.

Umā (Pārvatī) seated by Śiva's side, in a corresponding position with her left leg pendent, turns towards him: her right hand rests on his thigh, her left hand rests upon the seat and holds the end of the scarf. She wears a *dhotī*, and the usual jewellery; her hair is dressed in a large chignon behind the head, bound with a pearl fillet. Immediately behind her to the proper left stands a diminutive female attendant: a second female attendant stands to the proper right of Śiva.

Below the seat are represented, on the extreme proper right, Gaṇapati, two-armed, standing, leaning on a staff: next the sage Bhṛṅgi, who stands in front of the bull Nandi, reclining; and on the extreme proper left Subrahmanya (Kārttikeya), two-armed, holding a fruit, and riding on a peacock. The pendent feet of Śiva and Umā are supported by lotus flowers. Above their heads runs a frieze of four *liṅgams*.

Grey sandstone. Central India (Bundelkhaṇḍ?). Early mediæval. Eighth to ninth century A.D.

Height, .717 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

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Resembles the Umā-Maheśvara-mūrti groups of Elūrā (Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, pls. xxvii, xxviii, xxix) and still more, a sculpture now in the Ajmere Museum (Rao, *ibid.*, pl. xxvi, 2). A very similar example may also be seen at Jhalrapatan, in the Candra Bāgh. A later example in metal is M. F. A. 21.1651. Similar compositions are also found in later Pahārī paintings.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE XXII.

21.1651. Śiva and Umā group (*Umā-Maheśvara-mūrti*): seated on a lotus throne (*padmāsana*) supported by a stem rising from an oval pedestal. Branches of the stem support, on expanded flowers, small figures of Gaṇapati and Subrahmaṇya (Kārttikeya), to right and left of the principal figures.

Maheśvara (Śiva) is seated at ease (*lalitāsana*): he has high-dressed hair (*jaṭā mukuta*), some of the lower braids spreading laterally as in the South Indian Naṭarājas, but less abundantly. Of his four arms, the lower right is raised in the position known as *tripatāka*, used in lifting the chin; the upper right carries a branch with a ribbed fruit (probably blue water-lily, *nīlotpala*); the upper left carries the trident (*triśula*); the lower left hand embraces Umā's breast. Śiva wears a *dhotī*; circular earrings, necklaces, and a beaded sacred thread (*yaḡñopavīta*). A cobra raises its hood on his right shoulder. Umā (Pārvatī) is seated on Maheśvara's left thigh, her right leg bent, the left leg pendent: her right arm passes round Maheśvara's neck, her left hand holds a mirror (*darpaṇa*), her face is turned upwards to his in response to his touch. Her costume is similar to Maheśvara's, except that she does not wear the sacred thread.

Brass, somewhat corroded. Bengal. Tenth to eleventh century.

Height, .160 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

For descriptions and illustrations of Umā-Maheśvara groups in stone, of various dates, see Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Madras, 1914-16, Vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 132 ff. Compare also the stone group, M. F. A. 21.1720, of the eighth or ninth century, where the composition is somewhat different. In respect of style, a very close analogue will be recognized in the

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figure of Maitreya found in the Pawdawmu Pagoda, Pagan (Burma) and ascribed to the eleventh or twelfth century (Duroiselle, C., *Report of the Superintendent, Archaeological survey, Burma, for the year ending March 31, 1920*, pl. III, fig. 1 and text p. 26). The Burmese figure is considered by Mr. Duroiselle to have been made in Pagan by Indian artists; it is assigned to the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. Compare also the metal and stone figures from Nālandā, which are probably of the ninth century (Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1917-18, pl. XIV). The form of the pedestal is similar to that of the Padmapāṇi, M. F. A. 22.381, but further elaborated.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE XXIII.

b. Vaiṣṇava

21.1708. Viṣṇu: perforated slab in high relief, four-armed standing figure with two attendants, l. r. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*), u. r. h. and u. l. h. resting on the heads of the attendants, l. l. h. broken. The deity wears a *dhotī*, and the following jewellery: crown (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*) with flat top, (part of the hair falling on the shoulders), heavy earrings (*ratna kuṇḍala*), necklace (the *vaijayanta*?), armlets, bracelets, girdle (*kaṭibandha*) with jewelled pendant, and jewelled sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). A circular *tilaka* indicated on the forehead. Attendants respectively female and male, holding flowers, to proper right and left. The screen is of the throne-back type with representations of strips of cloth hanging from rings at either side, in place of the usual elephant and lion: above, to right of the *śīras-cakra*, a *vidyādhara* in a cloud, with a garland, the corresponding figure and part of the slab on the proper left missing. A long garland of lotuses falling to the knees. All below the knees is missing.

Black granulite. Bihār or Orissa. Ninth to tenth century.

Dimensions, .138 × .284 × .124 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XXIV.

21.1836. Viṣṇu (Trivikrama), standing figure between two female attendants. Partly isolated from the carved screen. The deity wears a high

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crown (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*), a thin scarf and *dhoṭī*, jewelled sacred thread (*yajño-pavīta*), and the usual jewellery: l. r. h. with lotus (broken away, perhaps *vara mudrā* only), u. r. h. with mace (*gadā*), u. l. h. with discus (*cakra*), l. l. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*). The female attendant to proper right has a fly whisk (*cāmara*) in the right hand, the left hand in *kaṭyavalambita* pose: the other female attendant is playing the *vīṇā*. On the extreme right and left, in lower relief, are smaller male figures, each with the right hand at the breast and the left in *kaṭyavalambita* pose: these may be Bhṛgu and Mārkaṇḍeya.

The carved screen, in one piece with the deity and the pedestal, has the usual lion and elephant motifs at the sides, and terminates in the ogee of a *makara toraṇa*, with two *makara* heads and a *kīrti-mukha*: standing on the *makaras* are a *kinnara* and *kinnarī* blowing short trumpets, and above there are two *vidyādhara*s in the clouds, carrying swords and vases of offerings.

The pedestal is decorated with floral ornament in high relief, and there are two worshipping figures, perhaps representing donors, at the angle.

The sculpture is nearly identical with a Viṣṇu in the Mathurā Museum (D. 35: Vogel, J. Ph., *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Mathurā*, 1910, p. 101 and pl. xviii).

Black slate. Dinaspur district, Bengal. Tenth to twelfth century.

Height, .501 m. (exclusive of the tenon). Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XXIV.

21.1652. Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa?) seated on a lotus throne (*padmāsana*). The deity wears a high crown (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*), the gem *kaustubha* attached to a necklace, and other usual jewellery, l. r. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*), u. r. h. with lotus (*padma*), u. l. h. with *garuḍa-dhvaja*, l. l. h. with discus (*cakra*).

Brass. Bengal. Tenth to twelfth century A.D.

Dimensions, .082 × .059 × .043 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

The representation of a *garuḍa-dhvaja* (a staff surmounted by a kneeling figure of *Garuḍa*), in place of the usual mace (*gadā*) associates the figure with the unique brass Viṣṇu described by Rakhal Das Banerji, *Descriptive list of sculptures and coins in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, Calcutta, 1911, item 23. Cf. also Spooner, D. B., *Vishnu images from Rangpur*, Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1911–12, Calcutta, 1915, pp. 152–158. Cf.

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also M. F. A. 21.1653 and 21.1651. The earliest *garuḍa-dhvaja* appears also at Barhut (Cunningham, A., *Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, pl. xii).

PLATE XXIV.

c. Miscellaneous

17.1606. Apsaras: head of a nymph, with clasped hands, the face full and serene, the hair very elaborately dressed with interwoven flowers.

Fragment, probably from the external decoration of a temple.

Grey sandstone. Central India (?) Tenth to eleventh century.

Gift of Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy.

Shows a close stylistic resemblance to a female bust of the ninth or tenth century from Maṇḍor, illustrated by Marshall and Sahni, *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report 1909-10* (1914), pl. XLIII, fig. 7. Compare also *Viśvakarmā*, pl. LVII.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 104.

PLATE XXV.

21.1692. Head and bust of a youthful female figure, the arms and remainder of the body missing.

Cream sandstone. North central India. Tenth to twelfth century.

Height, .179 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

The hair is finely and delicately dressed, partly with interwoven flowers: the jewellery is very rich. Behind the body, and supporting it is part of the stem of a tree, suggesting that the whole composition may have been of the well-known 'woman and tree' type: the right arm was evidently raised to grasp a branch of the tree. The typical arrangement shows a beautiful woman, often wholly or partly nude, standing with crossed legs under a tree or vine, the left arm embracing the stem, the right raised to her head or to grasp a branch: but there are many variations. There is generally some implied reference to the well-known myth of the *aśoka* tree, which bursts into bloom at the touch of the foot of a beautiful woman. The composition appears continually in Indian art from the second century B.C. onwards, both as a decorative motif, and in Buddhist art in representations of the Nativity. The motif has possibly a western origin, but has been completely Indianized.

PLATE LXIX.

SCULPTURE

21.1699. Part of the base of a large image: three standing figures, one kneeling.

Cream sandstone. Bundelkhaṇḍ (?) Tenth to twelfth century.

Dimensions, .495 × .229 × .222 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

This fragment formed the lower proper left-hand part of the original. Above the rear standing figure, an elephant and part of a lion, the familiar throne back bracket: on the inner angle, part of a garland (*vanamālā*?) suggesting that the original image may have been Vaiṣṇava. This is confirmed by the fact that the foremost standing male figure (perhaps an Āyudha-Puruṣa) carries a discus. A very similar (Jain) composition in a complete state, from Deogaṛh, is illustrated in Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1917-18, pl. II, b.

PLATE XXVI.

BRĀHMANICAL, NEPAL

17.2319. Viṣṇu: standing figure, four-armed, the u. r. h. and part of mace held in u. l. h. broken away, l. l. h. half broken at wrist. Attributes: l. r. h., a fruit ?; u. r. h., missing; u. l. h., mace (*gadā*); l. l. h., conch (*śaṅkha*).

Copper, gilt and jewelled. Nepal (or Bengal?). Ninth to tenth century. Height, .223 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95. Cf. Bull. de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1922, pl. xxv ('Viṣṇu-Lakṣmī of same type, slightly later, in the museum at Hanoi).

PLATE XXIV.

BRĀHMANICAL, FURTHER INDIA AND INDONESIA

17.1016. Head of Śiva: the high-dressed hair (*jaṭā mukuṭa*) in five tiers.

Sandstone. Cambodian (Khmer or Čam). Twelfth century (?) Height, .385 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 106; Denman W. Ross, *An example of Cambodian sculpture*, in Fogg Art Museum Notes, no. 2, 1922, fig. 7.

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There are similar Śaiva heads in the Trocadéro and Musée Guimet (Coedès, G., *Catalogue des pièces originales de sculpture khmère . . . au . . . Trocadéro et au Musée Guimet*, Bull. Comm. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1910, pl. IX). There is also a resemblance to the Čam head, M. F. A. 21.1072.

PLATE XXVII.

17.1082. Head of Śiva: nose and ears chipped, and upper part of the high-dressed hair (*jaṭā mukuṭa*) missing.

Yellowish sandstone. Cambodian (Khmer). Tenth century (?)

Height, .13 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 106, 1920.

PLATE XXVII.

22.262. Head of Śiva or funerary statue of a Śaiva king. The upper part of the braided hair, originally dressed high (*jaṭā mukuṭa*) is broken away. The diadem (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*) is knotted at the back, and probably consisted of a flexible jewelled metal plate.¹ The hair at the sides of the face extends downward to the middle of the ear, forming a kind of mutton chop whisker.

Stone. Cambodian (Khmer). Tenth to twelfth century.

Dimensions, .200 × .165 × .136 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Denman W. Ross, *An example of Cambodian sculpture*, in Fogg Art Museum Notes, no. 2, 1922, fig. 6.

PLATE XXVII.

21.1072. Head of Śiva (or funerary statue of a king): with a tiara, and cylindrical coiffure of matted locks (*jaṭā mukuṭa*) with an *omkāra* symbol. No third eye. Ears pendent, but no earrings.

Black stone. Čam, eleventh century: or Cambodian, seventh to eighth century (?)

Height, .358 m. Ross collection.

Perhaps a monument of the 'Classic' or 'Early Derived' schools (Second Period, A.D. 1000–1650), of Čam sculpture (Parmentier, H., *Inventaire descriptif des monuments Čams de l'Annam*, Paris, 1909, II, pp. 19–22), the form being already fixed, but not yet at all decadent. The beard

¹ Cf. Groslier, *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, Paris, 1921, p. 66 and fig. 32.

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and cylindrical form of the headdress are both late features (Parmentier, *loc. cit.*, 11, pp. 316, 317, 399), and characteristic of the Second Period. But the head is much superior to any of the late Čam Śaiva sculptures figured by Parmentier, and very closely resembles a head 'de provenance inconnue,' no. 14895 in the Musée Guimet, Paris (Coedès, G., *Catalogues des pièces originales de sculpture khmère . . . au . . . Trocadéro et au Musée Guimet*, Bull. Comm. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1910, p. 51 and pl. ix). Both are perhaps examples of 'Primitive' Cambodian art (see Bull. de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, tome XXI, 1922, pp. 74-77). On the apotheosis of kings, see Coedès, G., *Note sur l'apothéose au Cambodge*, Bull. Comm. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1911.

Published: Denman W. Ross, *An example of Cambodian sculpture*, in Fogg Art Museum Notes, no. 2, 1922, fig. 8.

PLATE XXVIII.

22.688. Śiva, two-armed standing figure. The two hands extended forward at right angles to the body, held in *śikhara* pose (fist closed and thumb raised), the r. h. holding a flower (?). The hair dressed high, terminating in a cone. Jewellery consisting of tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*), earrings, necklace, armlets, bracelets; costume a loin cloth or short drawers, and sash or belt.

Bronze with green patina. Cambodian (Khmer). Twelfth to thirteenth century.

Height, .158 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXIX.

21.1073. Śiva, four-armed standing figure, all below the loins missing. The two lower hands in *abhaya mudrā*, the two upper with attributes now missing. The upper part of the *jaṭā mukuṭa* broken away. The remaining jewellery consists of a tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*) earrings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, and a broad girdle.

Copper. Cambodian (Khmer). Twelfth to thirteenth century.

Height, .094 m. Ross Collection.

Similar Cambodian bronzes are illustrated by Coedès, G., *Matériaux pour servir à l'étude de l'art khmèr*, Bull. Comm. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1912.

PLATE LXXXII.

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22.689. Śiva, five-headed and six-armed standing figure. The heads and two normal hands as in 22.688. Attributes in the other hands; u. r. h. noose, u. l. h. trident, l. l. h. *vajra*, remainder not recognizable. Headdress and jewellery as in 22.688: loin cloth with effect of short drawers, and a flaring sash. The ankles and feet are missing.



22.689

Bronze, with green patina. Cambodian (Khmer). Twelfth to thirteenth century.

Height of part preserved, .179 m. Ross Collection.

For similar Cambodian bronzes, see Foucher, A., *Matériaux pour servir à l'étude de l'art khmèr*, Bull. Comm. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, pls. x, xi, xiii.

PLATE XXIX.

17.3217. Śiva: four-armed standing image, with lotus pedestal l. r. h. with *triśūla*, u. r. h. with rosary (*akṣamālā*), u. l. h. with fly whisk (*cāmara*), l. l. h. with water vessel (*kamaṇḍalu*). Oval *śiraścakra*. The hair dressed high (*jaṭā mukuṭa*), with skull (*kapāla*) and crescent moon, some locks falling on the shoulder: costume, *sarong* or *dhotī*, falling to the ankles, a tiger skin around the hips; jewellery, tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*), earrings (diverse), necklace, armlets, bracelets, anklets, and sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*). Possibly a reproduction (forgery), more likely an original unfinished casting.

Copper. Java.

Height, .335 m. Ross Collection.

17.1014. Caṇḍī (Cāmuṇḍā, Durgā): a tāmasik form of Devī, as Mahiṣamardinī, slaying the *asura* Mahiṣa. Caṇḍī is eight-armed, several of the hands being broken away: those remaining carry the discus (*cakra*), sword (*khaḍga*), conch (*śaṅkha*) and noose? (*pāśa*). She wears an elaborate tiara

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(*uṣṇīṣa bhusaṇa*), jewels, girdles and a thin muslin *dhottī*. Oval nimbus (*śirascakra*) behind the head. The right and left earrings differ, the right being masculine, the left feminine, indicating the combination of both elements in the mother-divinity. She stands upon the bull Mahiṣa from which the *asura* emerges in the form of a dwarf with a shield and short sword.

Coarse black basalt, in high relief against a thick round-topped slab. Java (Singosāri?). Twelfth to thirteenth century.

Height, 1.090 m., diameter .445 m. Ross Collection.

For a full discussion of the representation of Durgā in Hindu art, see Knebel, J., *De Doerga-voorstelling in de beeldhouwkunst en litteratuur der Hindoes* (Tijdschr. Ind. T. L. en Vk., Vol. XLVI, pp. 213–240); *De asoera in de Doerga-voorstelling van de Hindoe-beeldhouwkunst op Java* (*idem*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 514–526); and *Prototype en variant in de Doerga-voorstelling van de Hindoesche beeldhouwkunst op Java* (*idem*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 317–338).

For the story of the battles between Durgā and the *asuras*, including Mahiṣāsura, see the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, *Cāṇḍī Parva*; also the *Mahiṣa-mardinī stotra* of the *Tantrasāra*, translated by Avalon, A., *Hymns to the goddess*, p. 88; and the *Sanskrit poems of Mayura*, translated by Quackenbos, N. Y., 1917.

These conflicts have been constantly represented in Hindu art from the eighth century (Māmallapuram) onwards.

Published: *Mythology of all races* (ed. L. H. Gray), Vol. VI, *Indian, Iranian*, Boston, 1917, pl. i and p. 118; also *Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts*, 1919. Compare Juynboll, H. H., *Javanische Altertümer*, Leiden, 1909, pp. 15–18 and pl. iv, fig. 2. Also Pleyte, *Indonesian art*, pl. vi, fig. 2.

PLATE XXX.

21.2531. Architectural ornament, a deeply countersunk panel floral design, with two figures of seated Śaiva devotees, with high-dressed hair and pointed beards. The yogīs wear short ribbed drawers, and are seated in *yogāsana* (the knees raised and the legs crossed).

Grey sandstone. Cambodia (Khmer), Angkor (Bayon?). Tenth century (?)

Dimensions, .388 × .404 × .75 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXXI.

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22.686. Dancing *apsaras*. The dancing figure stands on an expanded lotus-like flower, springing from a flowering spray terminating in a half opened bud revealing a similar but smaller female figure, concealed below the waist, and holding a flower in each hand. Above the dancing figure a



22.686

trifoliate arch, flame-fringed, the lower corners terminating in dragon (*nāga*) heads of which that on the right alone survives. Part of a larger composition, possibly forming the crest of a standard.

The danseuse wears a pointed crest and a metal tiara, earrings, necklace, armlets, bracelets, metal girdle (over a loin cloth) and anklets. The hands are raised, palms upward. The indication of a third eye associates the figure with Śaiva cults.

Bronze. Cambodian (Khmer). Ninth to twelfth century.

Height, .393 m., width, .211 m. Ross Collection.

There is said to be another part of the same piece in the Museum at Pnom Penh. The nearest analogue for the composition representing a danseuse beneath a *torana* is a stele from Beng

Mealea (original or cast in the Trocadéro, Paris: *Le Musée indo-chinois*, Paris, anon., n. d., pl. 55).

A flowering spray, each flower disclosing a beautiful woman, fully or half revealed, is a motif of Indian origin, very familiar in Sinhalese decorative art as *nārī latā* or 'woman vine.'

For Cambodian dancing figures in bronze cf. Groslier, G., *Recherches sur les Cambodgiens*, 1921, pl. xxviii; for the possible use as standards, *idem*, p. 82; for the *nāga* in Cambodian art, *idem*, p. 250. See also Groslier, G., *Danseuses cambodgiennes*, 1913.

PLATE XXXII.

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22.687. Ladle. The curved handle, riveted to the bowl, is decorated at each end with a *kīrti-mukha* head in high relief.

Bronze, with green patina. Twelfth century (?)

Length, .35 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXXIII.

BUDDHIST, INDIA PROPER

21.1835. The "Eight Great Miracles," or significant moments in the life of Buddha; with an inscription of the formula of causality, *Ye dharmmā*, etc., in characters of the eleventh century. The central figure represents the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, on the occasion of Māra's assault (*Māra dharṣaṇa*), previous to the Great Enlightenment (*Mahā-sambodhi*). The Bodhisattva is seated in *padmāsana* above a lion throne (*siṃhāsana*) beneath the Bodhi tree; he wears a monastic robe, which leaves the left shoulder bare; and also a crown, earrings, and necklace; his right hand is extended across the right leg, in *bhūmisparśa mudrā*, the seal of "Calling the Earth to Witness," to his moral right to occupy the throne of wisdom, claimed by Māra for himself.

Of the remaining scenes, beginning at the lower left hand angle of the sculpture (proper right of the central figure):

No. 1 represents the Nativity (*Jāti*): Mayā Devī stands under the *aśoka* tree, supporting herself by her right arm, the child emerging from her right side. A vase is seen on the ground, to the proper right, probably representing the Four Treasure Vases which sprang into existence at the time of Siddhārtha's birth.

No. 2 represents the "Preaching of the First Sermon" (*Dharma-cakra-pravartana*) in the Deer Park near Benares. The Buddha figure, clothed in a monastic robe covering both shoulders, is seated in European fashion (*pralambapāda-āsana*), the hands in *dharma-cakra mudrā*, the "Seal of the Wheel of the Law." On the pedestal are represented the Wheel and two deer, the well-known symbols of the place and event.

No. 3 represents the "Descent from Heaven" (*Devāvatāra*): the Buddha, robed as before, walking, followed by Indra, and an attendant bearing an umbrella (*chattra*) of dominion: the right hand is in *varada mudrā*.

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Nos. 4 and 6 show the Buddha, robed as before, seated in *yogāsana* and *dhyanā mudrā*, and are exactly alike. It may be remarked that apart from these, the normal series of the Eight Great Miracles is complete in the other representations. These figures, like the two small *stūpas*, right and left of the *śiraścakra* of the principal figure, may therefore, be regarded as merely accessory. They may possibly be considered, however, as associated with No. 8, the secondary figures of the miracle being separated from the preaching figure for the sake of symmetry in the whole composition.

No. 5 shows the "Final Release" (*Parinirvāṇa*): the Buddha reclines on his right side, figures of laymen in attitudes of worship appearing to right and left. *Gandharvas* are represented by musical instruments, on the one side a drum, struck by two hands, on the other a pair of cymbals held by two hands, the remainder of the figures to which the hands belong being 'out of the picture.' Between these musical instruments, above the reclining figure, appears a small *stūpa*.

No. 7 represents the "Taming of the Maddened Elephant" at Rājagṛha: the Buddha, robed as before, stands as in No. 3, but the right hand is broken, and rests against an object, perhaps only a support, which cannot be identified. The elephant (very much reduced in scale) appears on the Buddha's right, the favorite disciple Ānanda, on his left.

No. 8 represents (perhaps in association with Nos. 4 and 6) the "Great Miracle at Śrāvastī" (*Mahā-pratihārya*), the second phase of which consisted in the multiplication of phantasms of himself in all directions and up to heaven, and in preaching the law. The Buddha, robed as before, is seated in European fashion, the hands in *dharma-cakra mudrā*, precisely as in No. 2, except that the form of the throne is different, and the indications of the Deer Park and Wheel of the Law are omitted.

No. 9 represents the "Offering of the Monkey," which took place near Vaiśālī: the Buddha, robed as before, is seated in European fashion, holding in his lap the bowl of *madhu*; the monkey, however, is omitted.

Black slate. Bihar. Tenth to eleventh century.

Height, .451 m., thickness, .112 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

For a discussion of the representation of the "Eight Great Miracles" or decisive moments of the Buddha's life, commonly chosen for representation, see Foucher, A., *Beginnings of Buddhist art*, London, 1917, pp. 147 ff.,

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and the Benares stela published by Marshall, J. H., in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1907. A sculpture closely resembling the one here described is reproduced by Waddell, L. A., *Buddha's diadem or 'uṣṇīṣa,'* Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Vol. III, 1914–15, p. 132: another, in metal, is figured in Annual Progress Report, Arch. Surv. India, Central Circle, 1920–21, pl. II.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 120, 1922.

PLATE XXXIV.

21.1717. Portion of a slab with standing figure of Buddha in high relief: legs and arms broken.

Black slate. Bihar or Orissa. Eleventh to twelfth century.

Height, .230 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Part of the formula of causality in incised 'nail headed' script remains, viz. — *prabhavā hetuṃ teṣāmtathāgato, hyava* —.

PLATE XXXV.

21.1718. Siddhārtha Bodhisattva (Gautama Buddha) seated in *bhūmi-sparśa mudrā* on lotus seat (*padmāsana*) on lion throne (*siṃhāsana*), branches of the *bodhi* tree rising over his head: a representation of the *Māra dharṣaṇa*, symbolizing the "Great Enlightenment" (*Mahā sambodhi*). The Bodhisattva wears a *dhotī* (?), and jewellery as follows: a four-pointed tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*), earrings, and necklace. An attendant male figure with a flower stands to the proper right, and over this a representation of a *stūpa*: the corresponding parts on the proper left are missing. On the front of the lion throne pedestal are represented a male and female figure, possibly Māra (in his proper character as Kāmadeva ?) and one of his daughters: the male figure carries a long object which may be a bow.

Greenish slate. Bihar (Sārnāth ?) or Orissa. Eleventh century (?)

Dimensions, .311 × .179 × .050 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XXXV.

21.1719. Bodhisattva (Maitreya ?) teaching, seated in European fashion (*pralambapāda āsana*) on a lion throne (*siṃhāsana*), the hands in *dharma-cakra mudrā*, wearing crown, earrings, and necklace. Surmounted

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by umbrella (*chakra*), and with four *stūpas* at the sides. On the pedestal, two deer affronted, with the Wheel of the Law.

Black slate, high relief. Orissa (?) Twelfth century.

Height, .363 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Without the crown, etc., this would appear to be a representation of the Buddha's First Sermon in the Deer Park at Benares. The sculpture is evidently provincial and the symbolism confused.

PLATE XXXIV.

22.381. Padmapāṇi, seated at ease (*lalitāsana*), on a lotus throne, supported by a branching stem, the pendent foot resting on a smaller lotus. The left hand carries an open lotus (*padma*), the elbow and parts and forearm missing: the right forearm and hand are also missing. The Bodhisattva has hair dressed high in ascetic fashion (*jaṭā mukuṭa*), some locks falling on the shoulders: he wears a figured muslin *dhōṭī* and scarf: tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhusaṇa*), necklace, jewelled sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*), armlets, girdle with pendent ropes of pearls, and anklets. The base of the pedestal resembles an architectural pediment. Cf. M. F. A. 21.1653.

Black slate. Bihar or Bengal.

Late Pāla or Sena period. Twelfth century.

Height, 1.52 m. George Bruce Upton Fund.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 120, 1922.

PLATE XXXVI.

21.1653. Padmapāṇi (Avalokiteśvara), seated at ease with left leg pendent, on a lotus throne (*padmāsana*). The r. h. is in *vyākhyāna mudrā*, the seal of exposition, the left holding a lotus stem, bearing foliage supporting a vase (*kalaśa*): a second lotus branch springs from the throne to the proper right. The hair is dressed high and falls in curls on the shoulders: a small *stūpa*, or vase in *stūpa* form, in the hair, and a small jewel immediately in front of it, almost on the forehead: vertical sectarian mark. The Bodhisattva wears a *dhōṭī*, girdle, scarf, and sacred thread, but no earrings, armlets, bracelets or anklets.

Brass. Bihar or Bengal. Eleventh century.

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Height, .065 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Cf. Spooner, D. B., *Vishnu images from Rangpur*, Ann. Rep., Arch. Surv. India, 1911-12, Calcutta, 1915, and Banerji, Rakhaldass, *Descriptive list of sculptures and coins in the Museum of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*, Calcutta, 1911 (items 21-23), M. F. A. photos 56758, 56759. Cf. also M. F. A. 21.1651 and 21.1652.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 120, 1922.

PLATE XXXV.

19.801. Head of a Bodhisattva: the hair in regular short curls, turning to the right as in a Buddha, but almost hidden by the elaborate jewelled *uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*, recalling the tiaras of Ajaṇṭā painting.

An imposing and dignified sculpture, somewhat over life size, the nose broken.

Stone. Bihar or Orissa. Ninth to tenth century.

Dimensions, .445 × .273 m. Ross Collection.

Published: *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 104.

PLATE XXXVII.

17.2334. Vajra-Tārā: seated female divinity with four faces and eight arms. The three eyes, or two eyes and sectarian mark (*tilaka*), originally inlaid in silver, one only remaining. High pedestal, with traces of an inscription at the back, of which only one letter is decipherable. Much worn by the application of sandal paste as *tilaka*.

Brass. Northern India. Ninth to tenth century.

Height, .076 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXXVIII.

17.2335. Dākinī (?): female divinity, probably Buddhist, dancing, a lotus in each hand. Large bust and small waist. The left foot broken away, and much worn.

Brass. Northern school. Tenth to eleventh century.

Dimensions, .058 × .039 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE XXXVIII.

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21.1654. Seated female figure (Hāritī?), with a child on the left thigh; the r. h. in the *simha-mukha* finger position, palm upward, resting on the knee. *Śiras cakra*, partly broken.



21.1654

Brass. Northern India. Twelfth century (?)

Height, .062 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Probably Buddhist (Hāritī); or Jain, in the latter case perhaps Ambikā Devī, or a Yakṣinī.

19.803. Pediment, consisting of superimposed mouldings, the lower part with a seated Buddha in a niche, the upper with seven seated Buddhas forming a frieze.

Grey stone. Bihar (?) Mid-mediæval.

Dimensions, .410 × .566 × .109 m. Ross Collection.

PLATE XXXVIII.

21.1669. Plaque: above, a circular impression containing a *stūpa*; below, Great Enlightenment, a figure of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha seated in *bhūmi-sparśa mudrā*, within a triple-arched shrine, above which rises a tall *śikhara* (surmounted by an *amalaka*). The part below this is broken away.

Terra cotta. Nālandā. Ninth to tenth century (?)

Dimensions, .191 × .062 × .069 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Cf. Gurudas Sarkar, *Notes on the history of shikhara temples*, Rūpam, no. 10, 1922, p. 46 and figs. 12 and 14 (assigned to the eleventh century).

PLATE XXXIX.

21.1670. Seal of the Nālandā monastery. *Dharmacakra* (Wheel of the Law) with affronted deer: representing the First Sermon of Buddha. Inscription: *Śrī Nālandā Mahāvihārā*. . . .

Hardened clay. Nālandā. Ninth to tenth century.

Dimensions, .054 × .049 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

SCULPTURE

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 120, 1922.

PLATE XXXIX.

21.1671. Seal, a bell-shaped *stūpa* with banners, and four-line illegible inscription.

Hardened clay. Nālandā. Ninth to tenth century (?)

Dimensions, .034 × .033 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XXXIX.

10.13. Moulded plaque, Buddhist triad, Gautama Buddha seated in niche on lotus seat, hand in *bhūmi-sparśa mudrā*, attended by two arhats, standing. With the Buddhist formula “*Ye dharmmā*,” etc., below in raised letters. The inscription apparently begins with the Tibetan *mgo-śad* or “head-mark.” Damaged above.

Terra cotta. Northern India. About the twelfth century (?)

Dimensions, .14 × .113 m. Gift of F. G. Curtis.

PLATE XXXIX.

BUDDHIST, CEYLON

17.2312. Avalokiteśvara: as a teacher, seated on a plain rectangular throne, the right hand raised in *vyākhyāna*, “*vitarka*”, or *cin mudrā* (signifying exposition), the left resting on the throne, the right leg raised and supporting the right arm, the left foot pendent, resting on a lotus flower. Elaborate headdress (*jaṭā mukuṭa*) with a representation of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha. Locks hanging down on the shoulders. Sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*), girdle (*kaṭibandha*) and *dhotī*, otherwise nude.

Bronze. Ceylon. Eighth century.

Height, .091 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Closely comparable with the figure of Śiva in the well-known Kailāsa composition at Elūrā (*Viśvakarmā*, pl. xxxviii).

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mahayana Buddhist images from Ceylon and Java*, J. R. A. S. (London), April, 1909, pl., fig. 1; *Art and Yoga in India*, Orpheus (London), June, 1909; *Indian bronzes*, Burlington Magazine, May, 1910; *Arts and crafts of India and Ceylon*, 1913, fig. 28; *Selected examples of Indian art*, 1910, pl. xxi; *Bronzes from Ceylon*, Colombo, 1914, pl. xxvii, figs. 172, 173; *Buddha and the gospel of Buddhism*, 1916, pl. z;

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Buddhist art in India, Scribner's Magazine, Vol. LX, 1916; *The dance of Śiva*, New York, 1918, pl. 1; *Viśvakarmā*, 1914, pls. XIII, XIV; Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts, Indian Art, 1918 and 1922; Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95. Also Havell, E. B., *Indian sculpture and painting*, 1908, pl. XI; Smith, V., *History of fine art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, fig. 195.

A number of duly dated replicas of this figure were cast (in 1912 ?) and distributed amongst certain museums and private collectors.

PLATE XL.

17.2314. Vajrapāṇi: seated at ease (*lalitāsana*) on a lotus throne (*padmāsana*) supported by a plain rectangular pedestal (*pīṭha*) with four feet, one of which is restored. The right hand is extended, holding a *vajra*; the left rests on the thigh. The right leg pendent, the foot supported by a lotus leaf; the left leg bent. Elaborate coiffure, with ringlets falling on the shoulders. Conspicuous *ūrṇā*. Vajrapāṇi wears different forms of earring in the right and left ears (the circular earring in the left ear presumably indicating the tāntrik concept of a *śakti* associated with the male divinity, cf. M. F. A. 21.1828, *infra*), necklace (*hāra*), armlets (*keyūra*), bracelets (*kaṅkana*), girdle (*kaṭibandha*), and *dhōṭī*, while the sash or ribbon sometimes tied round the knees and buttocks of a seated yogī (as in M. F. A. 17.2344) hangs loosely over the left leg.

Copper, probably originally gilt. Ceylon. Ninth century.

Height, .111 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Only second in interest to the two other Ceylonese figures, M. F. A. 17.2312, 2313. The form of the pedestal is identical with that of an Avalokiteśvara from Ceylon, in the British Museum, which bears a short inscription considered by Don M. de S. Wickremasinghe, Epigraphist to the Ceylon Government, to be in characters of the first half of the ninth century. The pedestal also resembles that of a bronze statuette of Buddha recently found at Nālandā (Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., pt. 1, 1917-18, p. 26 and pl. XIV, a). The British Museum example may also be compared with a figure from Sārnāth (Sahni, D. R., *Catalogue of the Archæological Museum at Sārnāth*, 1914, p. 121 and pl. XII), which is inscribed with the "Buddhist creed," again in characters of the ninth century.

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Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mahayana Buddhist images from Ceylon and Java*, J. R. A. S., London, 1909; *Bronzes from Ceylon*, Colombo, 1914, fig. 185, ("sixth century" is here a misprint); Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95.

PLATE XL.

17.2313. Jambhala: seated at ease on a lotus throne (*padmāsana*). The right hand holding a citron (*jambhara*), the left resting on a mongoose (*nakula*) which vomits a stream of square coins, entering a money pot. The right foot resting upon another money pot, which is overturned, and from which a stream of coins is pouring out. Jambhala wears a low crown (*karaṇḍa mukuṭa*), earrings (*makara kuṇḍala*), armlets (*keyūra*), necklace (*hārā*), belt (*udarabandha*), a sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) in the form of a string of *vajras*, and a striped or wrinkled *dhotī*.

Bronze. Ceylon. Eighth century.

Height, .078 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

An admirable representation of the god of wealth so frequently found on Mahāyāna Buddhist sites in India, but the only example so far known from Ceylon. Closely resembles the "Jambhala of the island of Ceylon" of Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 1643, miniature 18 (Foucher, A., *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, pp. 123, 192 and pl. ix, 2).

Jambhala is a Buddhist form of the Hindu divinity Kubera "the Deformed," also known as Vaiśravaṇa, the son of Viśravaś. He is regarded as a Lokapāla or guardian of a quarter, the North being his domain (cf. M. F. A. 21.1701, *supra*); but is apparently no longer worshipped as a Hindu divinity.

For Vaiśravaṇa in Sinhalese Buddhist art see Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Bronzes from Ceylon*, Colombo, 1914, p. 8; corrected in *Painted ceiling at Kelaniya Vihāra, Ceylon*, Journal of Indian Art, no. 128, 1914.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mahayana Buddhist images from Ceylon and Java*, J. R. A. S., London, 1909; *Indian bronzes*, Burlington Magazine, May, 1910; *Arts and crafts of India and Ceylon*, 1913, fig. 29; *Bronzes from Ceylon*, Colombo, 1914, figs. 182, 183; Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95; and Smith, V., *History of fine art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, fig. 196.

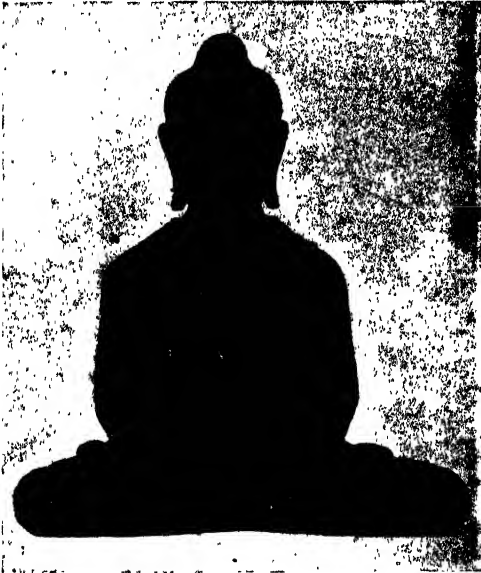
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A number of duly dated replicas of this figure were cast (in 1912 ?) and distributed amongst various museums and private collectors.

PLATE XL.

BUDDHIST, NEPAL

17.2317. Gautama Buddha: seated in *padmāsana*, the hands in *dharma-cakra mudrā*, the “Seal of Turning the Wheel of the Law.” The hair in curls, the *uṣṇīṣa* conspicuous. Both shoulders are covered by the outer cloak (*sanghāṭi*), the lower garment (*antaravāsaka*) showing at the ankles. The left thumb is now missing.



17.2317

Copper, tooled and gilt. Nepal. Ninth century.

Height, .084 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Like the painted Buddhas above the doorway in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā (M. F. A. photographs 40146, etc., and 40180). The modelling is both reserved and sensitive.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Gods of Mahayana Buddhism*, Burlington Magazine, July, 1915; *Viśvakarmā*, 1914, pl. xx; *Buddha and the gospel of Buddhism*, 1916, pl. c; Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95.

17.2315. Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi): standing figure, in *ābhaṅga* or *tribhaṅga* stance. The r. h. in *varada mudrā* (charity), the left with an expanded rose lotus (*padma*), of which the stem and leaf rest against the left shoulder. Avalokiteśvara wears a tiara with high-dressed hair (*jaṭā*), circular earrings (*ratnakunḍala*), necklace (*hārā*), armlets (*keyūra*), bracelets, girdle (*kaṭibandha*), sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) with a jewelled knot, *dhōṭī*, and loose sash (possibly to be regarded as a *yoga paṭṭa* analogous to that of Vajrapāṇi in M. F. A. 17.2314).

Copper, gilt and jewelled with jacinth. Nepal. Ninth century.

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Height, .305 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published, India Society, *Eleven plates* (of Indian sculpture), n. d. pl. XI; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Viśvakarmā*, pls. XIII, XIV; *Arts and crafts of India and Ceylon*, 1913, fig. 57; *Buddha and the gospel of Buddhism*, 1916, pl. R; Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95; also in the *Mythology of all races* (ed. L. H. Gray), Vol. VI, *Indian, Iranian*, Boston, 1917.

PLATE XLI.

17.2316. Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi): standing figure, similar to 17.2315 in all details, but the legs broken away a little below the knee.

Copper, gilt and jewelled with jacinth. Nepal. Tenth century.

Height, .122 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Gods of Mahayana Buddhism*, Burlington Magazine, July, 1915; Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95.

17.2328. Two hands of an image, probably Buddhist, in *varada* and *abhaya mudrā*.

Copper, with black patina, originally gilt. Nepal. Twelfth century (?)

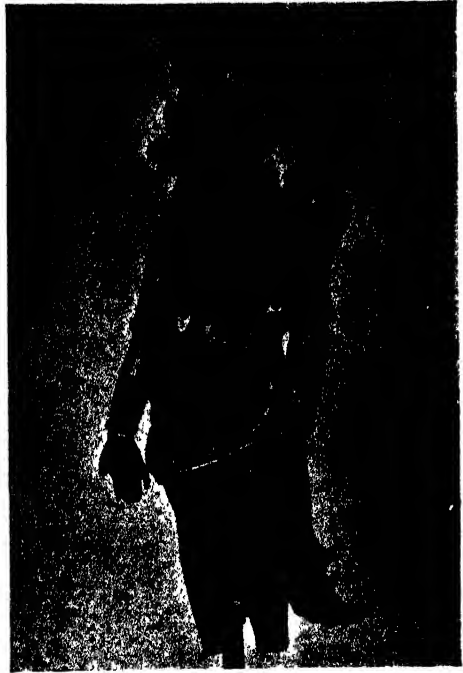
Length, .186 m. and .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Hands and feet in Indian art*, Burlington Magazine, January, 1914; *Arts and crafts of India and Ceylon*, 1913, fig. 5; Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95.

PLATE LXXIX.

BUDDHIST, FURTHER INDIA

22.263. Head of Buddha. The hair in small knots (curls) as usual, the *uṣṇīṣa* conspicuous, and surmounted by a conical projection, corresponding to the flame characteristic of many late Buddhist sculptures. The back



17.2316

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of the head is broken away. The surface shows remains of a black lacquer coating, probably added later: on one side, this coating is so moulded as to extend the hair downwards as far as the middle of the ear, in the fashion of a mutton chop whisker.

Grey sandstone. Further India (Siam or Cambodia). Ninth century (?)
Dimensions, .215 × .130 × .080 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Denman W. Ross, *An example of Cambodian sculpture*, in Fogg Art Museum Notes, no. 2, 1922, fig. 4.

PLATE XXVII.

17.1377. Head of a life-sized Buddhist figure, probably Gautama Buddha. Nose and ears damaged and apex of *uṣṇīṣa* missing.

Yellowish sandstone. Cambodian (Khmer). Twelfth century (?)
Height, .254 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Handbook of the Museum of Fine Arts, 1918; Denman W. Ross, *An example of Cambodian sculpture*, in Fogg Art Museum Notes, no. 2, 1922, fig. 3.

PLATE XLII.

[See also M. F. A. 19.800, p. 137 *infra*.]

JAINA, INDIA PROPER

21.1070. Mahāvīra, the upper part of a slab, carved in high relief. The head and torso of the Jina alone remain: the figure is nude, the hair dressed high (*jaṭā mukuṭa*), with some locks falling on the shoulders. A lozenge-shaped mark (*śrīvatsa*) on the breast. Above the head, a triple *chattra*, surmounted by a crouching figure, and branches of an *aśoka* tree: to right and left a pair of Vidyādhara, in clouds, with offerings. Behind the torso, is represented a throne-back, with rampant lion brackets and the upper horizontal bar ending in *makara* heads.

Cream sandstone. Bundelkhand (?) Ninth to tenth century.

Dimensions, .69 × .695 × .228 m. Ross Collection.

Resembles a figure in the ruins south of the Ādinātha temple, Vaibhargiri, Rājgir, a sacred site of the Śvetāmbara Jains (M. F. A. photo 55511).

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 120, August, 1922.

PLATES XLIII and XLIV.

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LATE MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN

BRĀHMANICAL, INDIA PROPER

a. Śaiva and Śākta

21.1828. Śiva (*Nṛtta-mūrti*) as Naṭarājā dancing upon an Apasmāra puruṣa: encircled by a *tiruvāsi*. The deity is three-eyed and four-armed: the l. r. h. raised in *abhaya hasta*, the u. r. h. holding a drum (*ḍamaru* or *ḍhakka*), the l. l. h. holding a flame (*agni*), the l. l. arm stretched across the breast (*gaja* or *daṇḍa hasta*), the hand pendent. The right foot resting on the Apasmāra puruṣa, the left raised in the dance. The hair partly dressed high (*jaṭā mukuṭa*), tied by a cobra, surmounted by a fan of peacock feathers (or Cassia leaves ?), and bearing the crescent moon (*ardha candra*) and a skull (*kapāla*); the lower locks (*jaṭās*), separately cast, in thin strands ending in curls, whirling in the dance. Costume consisting of short drawers of tiger skin, and a thin scarf of muslin, of which only the end on the left shoulder is represented: otherwise nude except for elaborate jewellery, viz., tiara or fillet (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*), earrings (*nakra* or *makara kuṇḍala* on proper right, *patra kuṇḍala* on proper left), necklaces (*hārā*), armlets (*keyura*: spiral on upper arm, annular at the elbow), bracelets (*kaṅkana*), also a living cobra coiled about the lower right forearm (*bhujāṅga* or *sarpa-valaya*), finger rings (*mudrā*), belt (*udara bandha*), girdle (*kaṭi bandha*), anklets (*nupura*), and a sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) apparently consisting of a triple string of pearls.

The Apasmāra puruṣa is a dwarf figure, crushed to the ground, lying on its right side, holding a cobra in the left hand and with one leg bent (*kuñci pāda*). The *prabhā maṇḍala*, Tam. *tiruvāsi*, forms a circle, fringed with flames (*jvālā*), enclosing the whole figure, and springing from *makara* faces right and left of the small oval base. The regular pedestal (*padma pīṭha*) is missing.

Copper. Southern India. About 1800.

Height, 1.021 m. From the Beardsell Collection. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

A legend in the *Periya Purāṇa* gives a pseudo-historical interpretation of the dance as follows:

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In the forest of Tāragam there dwelt multitudes of heretical ṛṣis, followers of the Mimāṃsa. Śiva proceeded there to confute them, accompanied by Viṣṇu disguised as a beautiful woman, and by Viṣṇu's servant Āti-Śeṣan, the nāga Ananta. The ṛṣis were at first led to dispute amongst themselves, but their anger was soon directed against Śiva, and they endeavoured to destroy Him by means of incantations. A fierce tiger was produced in the magic fires, and rushed upon Him; but he seized it in his hands, and stripped off its skin with the nail of his little finger, and wrapped it about himself as a garment. The sages renewed their offerings, and produced a monstrous serpent, which Śiva took in his hands and wreathed about his neck like a garland. Then He began to dance; but there rushed upon Him a last monster in the shape of a malignant dwarf, Muyalaka. Upon him the God pressed the tip of his foot, and broke the creature's back, so that it writhed upon the ground; then He resumed the dance, beheld of gods and ṛṣis. On this occasion Āti-Śeṣan obtained the boon to behold the dance again in Tillai, sacred Chitambaram — the centre of the Universe.

Ultimately, this dance which represents the best known, but only one of the many forms of Śiva's dances, would appear to be derived from that of an aboriginal mountain god, afterwards (?) identified with the Āryan Rudra (Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, London, 1909, p. 203). In all important Śaiva temples a special *Naṭana-sabhā* or Dancing Hall — probably similar in form to the old Indian theatre — is allotted to Naṭarājā. The most ancient and sacred of such halls is at Cidambaram or Tillai.

The black buck, axe, skull, crescent moon, and tiger or lion's skin borne or worn by Śiva in this and other aspects, are also explained in the *Suprabhedāgama* as produced by the incantations of ṛṣis whose wives had been attracted to Śiva when they saw him passing by on the slopes of Mount Meru (Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, p. 113).

In Śaiva theology and devotional literature the philosophical and mystical significance of the dance are far more prominent than the details of the legends already quoted.

"The Lord of Tillai's hall a mystic dance performs. What's that, my dear?", says Māṇikka Vāṇagar in the *Tiruvāṇagam*.

The dance is in fact, as we learn from other texts, a representation of the Cosmic Activity, more exactly, the 'Five Activities' (*Pañcakṛtya*) of *Sṛṣṭi*, creation or evolution, *Sthiti*, preservation or continued maintenance, *Samhāra*, destruction or involution,¹ *Tirobhava*, veiling, illusion or in-

¹ It should be noted that from a Hindu's point of view creation and destruction are never original nor final, but merely the repeated cycle of evolution and involution of forms in the substance of an eternal energy. Creation is 'projection,' destruction 'withdrawal': the process is without a beginning or end.

SCULPTURE

carnation, and *Anugraha* (release or salvation) of the Supreme and Immanent Power.

The third eye of Śiva, or eye of wisdom, corresponding to the *ūrṇā* of Buddhist iconography, represents an organ supposed to exist potentially in all men, but effectively only in the deity and in those who are released from the Bond. There are two well-known Paurāṇic legends relating to this eye. In the first we are told that once when Pārvatī was sporting with the Lord in the Himālayas, she playfully covered both his eyes with her hands. Immediately the universe was plunged in darkness, and all movement ceased. Śiva then opened the third eye, like a sun. In the other story, Umā endeavoring to win the love of the Great God — who remained lost in contemplation — was aided by Kāmadeva, the Indian Eros: awakened from his trance, by an arrow from the lotus bow of the god of Love, the Lord in anger opened the third eye and by its terrible energy destroyed the body of Kāmadeva, who is therefore known as Anaṅga, or 'bodiless.'

The figure of Gaṅgā, usually present in Śiva's hair, is not shown in this example but appears in M. F. A. 21.1829, described below. Her presence is explained as follows: originally a heavenly river, she fell to earth at the prayer of Bhagiratha, in order that the lustration of the sons of Sagara might be duly accomplished, but was caught and lost in the matted locks of Śiva's head — here perhaps a symbol of the Himālayan forests. Only at the continued prayer and penance of Bhagiratha she fell thence to earth: this last phase of the 'Birth of Gaṅgā' is a not uncommon theme of Pahārī Rajput paintings (e. g., Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Rajput Painting*, pl. LXVI), and is represented also in the type of Śiva image known as Gaṅgādhara-mūrti.

Thus the figure of Naṭarājā may be said to represent the Absolute in manifestation (*vyakta*), and such a figure is complementary to the *liṅgam*, the *avyakta* (unmanifest) and non-anthropomorphic symbol of Śiva which is the form of the *dhruva bera* or principal, immovable, icon in almost all Śaiva's temples. The two conceptions may be compared to Ruysbroeck's Eternal Rest and Eternal Work. At Cidambaram (meaning consciousness-ether') the principal shrine contains not even a visible *liṅgam* — the symbol is present only as an idea, and spoken of as an ether liṅgam.

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So far we have considered the dance of Śiva only intellectually as an exoteric image, present in a temple built with hands. But the true place of Śiva's dance is in the dancing hall of his lovers' hearts — "O Thou that dancest the dance of bliss in the Hall of Consciousness!" says Tāyumānavar. The earlier *Uṇmai Viḷakkam*, declares "The silent saints, destroying the threefold bond (*pāṣam*), are established where their self-hood is annihilated: *there* they behold the Sacred Dance and are filled with bliss."

In the *Tiruvātāvūrār Purāṇa* it is said that "Our Lord is the Dancer, who, like the heat latent in firewood, diffuses his power in mind and matter, and makes them dance in their turn."¹

The interpretation of the detailed symbolism is well known: "Creation arises from the drum (as sound is the primary manifestation of creative energy); protection proceeds from the assuring hand (i. e., the l. r. h. in *abhaya* position, signifying 'Fear not'); from the fire proceeds destruction; from the planted foot illusion; the upraised foot bestows salvation" (*Uṇmai Viḷakkam* of Maṇavācakan Kaṇḍandān, 13th century). The l. l. h. points to the lifted foot to indicate the refuge of the individual soul.

Or again, in the *Cidambara Mummaṇi Kovai*:

"O my Lord, Thy hand holding the sacred drum has made and ordered the heavens and earth and other worlds and innumerable souls. Thy lifted hand protects the multifarious animate and inanimate extended universe. Thy sacred foot, planted on the ground, gives an abode to the tired soul, struggling in the toils of *karma*. It is thy lifted foot that grants eternal bliss to those that approach Thee.² These Five Actions are indeed Thy handicraft."

As regards the foot 'planted on the ground'; this is found to be the case in some representations. Here, however, the foot rests on the back of

¹ Cf. Eckhardt: "Just as the fire infuses the essence and clearness into dry wood, so has God done with man."

² The 'feet of the Lord' have a special significance in Indian religion both as symbols (when represented alone) of the deity, and as a place of refuge: the idea is something like that of the 'foot-stool of the Most High' in Biblical phraseology. In actual life, moreover, in India, he who seeks protection, pardon or aid from another, falls to the ground and embraces his feet. Such a greeting is appropriate from a *cela* to a *guru*, from a wife to a husband, from children to parents, from subjects to kings. Cf. also in the first hymn of the *Tiruvācagam*: "Hail, foot of the Lord! Hail, foot of Him who not for an instant quits my heart!" etc., and *Uṇmai Viḷakkam*, continuing the text already quoted: "Driving away *māyā*, burning *karma*, crushing *āṇava*, by Grace (*aruḷ*) raising the soul and sinking it in the ocean of bliss — there are the works of the feet of our Father."

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the Apasmāra puruṣa,¹ Muyalaka, who represents *mala*, *āṇava* or *avidyā*, and *māyā* 'the stain,' 'particularity,' or 'ignorance,' and delusion, in other words, the bond (*pāśam*) of 'original sin' which forms the third category of Śaiva theology.

According to the *Tiru-Aruḷ-Payan*, "The dance of Nature (*prakṛti*) proceeds on one side, the dance of wisdom (*jñāna*) on the other." That is to say, the *tiruvāsi* represents the dance of Nature (material and individual energy) reflecting that of the informing Power.²

It will be observed that earrings of different patterns are worn in the two ears — *makara kuṇḍala* (appropriate either to a male or female figure) on the proper right, *patra kuṇḍala* or *toḍu* (appropriate only to a female figure) on the left. This is a peculiarity somewhat rarely seen in Indian sculpture: it indicates the presence of the Śakti as an essential part of the deity himself.³ This is, of course, a well-known dogma of Indian theology; numerous images are met with, in which one-half of the whole body is male, the other female, representing Ardhanārīśvara, 'The Lord whose half is feminine.' Śiva may be spoken of as 'half of her form' and as 'sinking in the fair expanse of her breast' (*Tiruvāṇḍagam*). However, in the case of Naṭarājā

¹ Which, it should be noted, represents the *yakṣa vāhanam* of earlier sculptures, e. g., the *liṅgam* at Guḍimallam. Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, p. 65 and pl. II.

² Sir P. Arunachalam (J. C. B. R. A. S. 1917) states that the *tiruvāsi* represents the Praṇava, the syllable *Om* "which is the generalized symbol of all possible sounds and therefore the fittest symbol of the Logos": but it is clear from the texts (even if it were not otherwise evident) that Sound is already represented by the drum, while the interpretation of the *tiruvāsi* given above seems to be more intelligible. *Tiruvāsi* is, of course, only the Tamil name of the *prabhā maṇḍala* or *prabhā toraṇa* (glory) regularly associated with images of deities. At the annual winter festival at Cidambaram male devotees may be seen dancing in the manner of Naṭarājā, and probably in former times there were also female dancers.

³ Other examples in the Śiva (Viṇādhara Dakṣināmūrti) of M. F. A. 21.1826; the Vajrapāṇi (Buddhist) of M. F. A. 17.2314. Cf. also Goloubew, V., *Antique bronze image of Śiva Ardhanārīśvara from Phrapatam in Southern Siam*, London, 1919; Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, fig. 76; Gangoly, O. C., *South Indian bronzes*, 1915, pls. I, III-XII, XIV-XVII, XX, XXI and Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Viśvakarmā*, pls. 28, 29, 30. In a Javanese Caṇḍī, M. F. A. 17.1014 and in the Piḍāri of *Viśvakarmā*, pl. 39, the same peculiarity occurs in the figure of a goddess.

It should be observed that the cylindrical or ring-shaped *patra kuṇḍala* (made of conch, or rolled palm leaf, or sheet gold) is by no means exclusively a woman's jewel, but is specifically such when represented in the left ear of a male deity. It is the difference of earrings, and not the form of the earrings which is significant.

A diversity of earrings (*patra kuṇḍala* in right ear, *makara kuṇḍala* in the left) appears also in the representation of a *nāgini* at Māmallapuram (*Viśvakarmā*, pl. 74), but here it is difficult to suppose that the same special significance is intended. Possibly the wearing of unlike earrings had been or finally became a *fashion*.

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figures, Umā or Śivakāmī is usually represented by a separate and smaller figure standing to the proper left of the *nṛtta mūrti*.

In the present case, the measurements of the figure, .089 m. for the face, and .760 m. for the whole figure, appear to indicate the *uttama daśa tāla* measure generally used for the images of the principal deities.

Other examples of Naṭarājā figures are to be found in the temples of Southern India, and in the museums of Madras, Calcutta, Colombo and Bangkok, and in the Musée Guimet, in the collections of Mr. C. W. E. Cotton in India and of Lord Ampthill in England, and the Pennsylvania Museum, Philadelphia. The literature referring to these examples includes: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Bronzes in the Colombo Museum*, Colombo, 1914; *The dance of Śiva*, in *Siddhānta Dīpika*, Vol. XIII, 1913; also in *The dance of Śiva*, New York, 1918; Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II (where many examples of Naṭarājās and other dancing figures are described and illustrated); also Rodin, A., Coomaraswamy, A. K., Havell, E. B., and Goloubew, V., *Sculptures çivaites de L'Inde* ('Ars Asiatica,' Vol. III, 1920), with large detailed reproductions of the Madras Museum figures; India Society, *Eleven plates*, London, n. d. (Lord Ampthill's examples); Sastri, H. K., *South Indian gods and goddesses*, Madras; Arunachalam, Sir P., *Polonnaruwa bronzes and Śiva worship and symbolism*, Journ. Ceylon Br. Roy. As. Soc., Colombo, 1917; Gangoly, O. C., *South Indian bronzes*, Calcutta, 1915; Hadaway, W. S., *Notes on the composition of line in Nataraja images*, Rūpam, no. 9, and *Note on a dated Nataraja from Behur*, Rūpam, no. 10, 1922; Fournereau, L., *Le Siam ancien*, Paris, 1905-08, Vol. I, pl. xxvii. The earliest representation of a dancing Śiva (eight-armed, one hand with the drum, one arm *gaja hasta*) appears on one of the interior pillars of the Durgā temple (sixth century A.D.) at Aihole.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE XLV.

21.1829. Śiva (*Nṛtta-mūrti*) as Naṭarājā: four-armed figure, dancing upon an Apasmāra puruṣa. Similar in almost all details to M. F. A. 21.1828, but lacks the *tiruvāsi*. Older and finer than M. F. A. 21.1828, and differs in

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the following details: absence of the *tiruvāsi*, which appears to have been detachable and carried by two upright pins rising from the pedestal, of which uprights one is now missing; the whirling *jaṭās*, cast in one piece with the rest of the figure, bear the form of Gaṅgā (right) and the crescent moon (left); there is no fan of peacock feathers above the high-dressed hair; the short drawers are of ribbed or striped muslin instead of tiger skin; a sash of figured stuff, knotted at both sides, hangs from the waist, reaching to the head and foot of the Apasmāra puruṣa; the pedestal (*padmapīṭha* upon *bhadrapiṭha*) is intact.

Copper, with greenish patina. Southern India. Fifteenth century (?)

Dimensions, .915 × .605 m. From the Beardsell Collection. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE XLVI.

21.1826. Śiva (*Vīṇādhara-dakṣiṇāmūrti*) as teacher of music. Three-eyed, four-armed standing figure in *sama* or *ābhāṅga* pose, the l. r. and l. l. arms held as if playing the *vīṇā*, the u. r. h. in *kartarī mukha* pose holding the axe (*paraśu* or *taṅka*), the l. r. h. in the same pose holding the black buck (*mṛga*). The hair is dressed high (*jaṭā mukuta*) and bears the crescent moon, and perhaps the skull: a lotus-formed disc (*śiras-cakra?*) at the back of the head. Costume consisting of very short tight drawers and a sash knotted at the sides: and elaborate jewellery, viz., fillet (*uṣṇīsa bhuṣaṇa*), earrings (*makara kuṇḍala* in right ear, *patra kuṇḍala* in the left), and necklaces, armlets, bracelets, belt, girdles, anklets, rings, as usual, and a triple sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) the strands of which are separated on the right side. On a modern pedestal (*padmapīṭha* on *bhadrapiṭha*).

Śiva, as teacher of the *śāstras* (scripture) generally, of *jñāna* (illumination), of *yoga* (union), and of *saṃgīta* (music), is known as *Dakṣiṇāmūrti*: there being four types of images, according to the subject of instruction. The *Dakṣiṇāmūrti* aspect of Śiva is always invoked by students of the sciences and arts.

Copper. Southern India. Sixteenth to seventeenth century.

Height, .522 m. From the Beardsell Collection. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

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Other examples of this form of Dakṣiṇāmūrti are illustrated in Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, pls. LXXX and LXXXI; Gangoly, O. C., *South Indian bronzes*, pls. I and XIV–XVI (the four examples illustrated by Gangoly are identical, and separation under different names can hardly be justified).

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE XLVII.

21.1831. Śiva (*sthānaka mūrti*), as Candra-śekhara (*Kevala Candraśekhara-mūrti*). Standing erect, with four arms, the l. r. h. in *abhaya hasta*, the u. r. h. with axe (*tanika* or *paraśu*), the u. l. h. with deer (*mṛga*), the l. l. h. in *varada hasta* (but the fingers bent). Skull (*kapāla*) and crescent moon in the high-dressed hair (*jaṭā mukuṭa*), a circular ornament at the back of the head. Costume consisting of *dhotī* reaching below the knees, sash, and jewellery, viz., earrings (*kuṇḍala*), necklaces (*hārā*), armlets (*keyura*), bracelets (*kaṅkana*), belt (*udara-bandha*), girdle (*kaṭi-bandha*), anklets (circular at the ankles, oval with bells on the feet) and sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) consisting of a double string of pearls. The arms bifurcate at the elbow. Square pedestal (*bhadrapiṭha*) with a small plain *padma*, and rings for attachment when carried in procession and two uprights for the *prabhā toraṇa* now missing. Presumably in the *uttama daśa tāla* scale. Rectangular pedestal.

Copper. Southern India. Fourteenth century (?)

Height, .650 m. From the Beardsell Collection. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XLVIII.

21.1830. Śiva (*Bhikṣāṭana mūrti*) as mendicant, nude standing figure, three-eyed and four-armed, the l. r. h. in a pose not identified, the u. r. h. with drum (*ḍamaru*), the u. l. h. in *kaṭaka* pose, the l. l. h. with skull cup.

Copper. Southern India. About 1800.

Height, 1.07 m. From the Beardsell Collection. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

The deity is represented as walking, and wears wooden sandals: the

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pedestal is a low *bhadra pīṭha*, with rings for attachment when carried in procession. Part of the hair rises to a moderate height above the head, is knotted with two serpents and bears the skull: the other and greater part falls in dishevelled matted locks (*jaṭā bhāra*), with the crescent moon on the left side. A serpent with expanded hood is coiled around the hips. The only costume consists of jewellery: fillet (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*), earrings (*makara kuṇḍala* in right ear, *patra kuṇḍala* in the left), two necklaces (*hārā*), armlets, bracelets, belt (*udara bandha*), a bell tied on the calf of the right leg, anklets, and finger rings, and a jewelled sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) separated into two parts on the right side. It may be remarked that the l. r. h. extended downwards is supposed to touch, or nearly touch, the head of the deer which, together with the figure of a *bhūta* holding a tray to receive the offerings of food, is generally associated with the Bhikṣāṭana mūrti. The figure is apparently in the *madhyama aṣṭa tāla* scale (appropriate to the theophany in guise of a human mendicant).

According to the *Kurma Purāṇa* Śiva's appearance as a mendicant represents an act of penance for the sin of *Brahmahatya*, the slaying of a Brāhmaṇ, incurred when he cut off one of the five heads of Brahmā (it will be remembered, also, that Śiva frequently wears a garland of skulls, the heads of the Brahmās of successive universes) upon the occasion of the latter's presumptuously claiming to be the ultimate Creator not merely the demiurge of the Universe. The sin of slaying a Brāhmaṇ attached itself to the Bhairava aspect of Śiva. Bhairava then visited Viṣṇu, by the advice of Brahmā (meanwhile restored to life), but incurred the further sin of slaying the doorkeeper, Viśvakṣena. The penance afterwards advised by Viṣṇu was that laid down in the Hindu law books, the essential part of which consists in living as an outcast, carrying the skull in one hand as a begging bowl, and one of the long bones of the deceased (in this case, the bone, *kaṅkalā*, of Viśvakṣena) in the other (the u. l. h. of the image, in *kaṭaka* pose, is probably intended to receive the *khaṭvāṅga* or *kaṅkalādaṇḍa* which should rest horizontally upon the left shoulder), and in begging food from not more than seven houses in any one day, saying upon each occasion "Who is there that would feed the slayer of a *bhūṇa*?" that is to say, of a well-conducted learned Brāhmaṇ.

According to another story (*Liṅga Purāṇa*) Śiva assumed the form of a

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nude mendicant in order to tempt the wives of the *ṛṣiṣ* living in the Dān-vana; for at this time even women and children had taken to the practice of austerities, and it was needful to bring them back to their proper place within the social system.

It may be further remarked that apart from these stories, the conception of Śiva wandering through the world as a naked ascetic is entirely appropriate to his character as a yogī, and the practice of all ascetics of the Śaiva cults. It is possible that this is one of the points at which an early connection of Śaivism with Buddhism appears.

Other examples of Bhikṣāṭana figures, and the closely related *Kaṅkalā mūrti*, are illustrated in Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, pls. LXXXII-LXXXIX, and Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, fig. 62.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE XLIX.

83.114. Śiva: standing figure, four-armed: attributes, sword (*khaḍga*), (?) drum (*dhakka*), trident (*triśūla*), skull cup (*kapāla*). High crown and usual jewellery.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth century (?)

Height, .086 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

11.182. Kāla-Bhairava: a *tāmasik* form of Śiva, four-armed, nude, accompanied by a dog: attributes, sword (*khaḍga*), drum (*dhakka*), trident (*triśūla*), skull cup (*kapāla*). The left hand also holds a human head, which the dog is licking. The dog is the "vehicle" (*vāhanam*) of Kāla-Bhairava.

Copper. Southern school. Sixteenth century (?)

Height, .058 m. Ross Collection.

Compare Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, fig. 98, and p. 151.

PLATE L.

21.1689. Head of Śiva: three-eyed, with high-dressed hair (*jaṭā mukuṭa*).

Grey sandstone. North central India. Fifteenth century (?)

Dimensions, .13 × .065 × .060 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

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21.1837. Carved and perforated panel, portion of a temple car, in high relief, representing Śiva (?), two-armed, impaling with his trident (*triśūla*), an Apasmāra puruṣa or Asura whom he treads under foot.

Wood. Madurā. Seventeenth century (?)

Dimensions, .64 × .285 × .110 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LI.

21.1519. Head of a deity, probably Śaiva: with high-dressed hair (*jaṭā mukuta*).

Black granulite. Southern India. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Height, .179 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXVIII.

99.52. Head of Śiva. On square pedestal, faced by a small Nandi: detachable cobra canopy.

Brass. Eighteenth century (?)

Height, .127 m. Bequest of Henry C. Warren.

The mustachios and Nandi clearly show that this is a representation of Śiva, and not of the minor goddess Māriātāl, whose icon consists of the head alone (described by G. Jouveau Dubreuil, *Archéologie du Sud de l'Inde*, tome II, pp. 124, 125, Paris, 1914 — here also Jouveau Dubreuil's fig. 37 seems to represent Śiva rather than the mother of Paraśurāma).

PLATE L.

83.109. Śaiva deity, with crown, *dhotī* and usual jewellery, arms akimbo: rectangular pedestal: detachable *prabhā-toraṇa* surmounted by a *kīrti-mukha*. The crown surmounted by a *liṅgam*.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth century (?)

Height, .156 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

99.49. Mask of Śiva. Three-eyed, with braided locks, and crescent moon. Surmounted by a smaller face, representing Gaṅgā (the Ganges). *Makara* earrings. With traces of red paint.

Brass, hollow. Nineteenth century (?)

Height, .095 m. Bequest of Henry C. Warren.

21.1310. Four-armed deity, not identified, possibly Śaiva. L. r. h. as if in *vyākhyāna mudrā*, u. r. h. and l. r. h. raised in the finger position known as *ardha-patāka*, l. l. h. laid on the calf of the leg (as in the Buddhist *bhūmi-*

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sparśa mudrā. The deity is seated on a simple plaque, the left leg bent, the right bent and raised: he wears a conical cap, and the usual jewellery.

Brass. Height, .05 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Cf. Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1911-12, pl. xxv (Bhītā terra cotta).

21.1832. Devī as Umā (Śivakāmī): standing figure in *samabhaṅga* pose (the head, trunk, and limbs mutually inclined), the right leg bent: the r. h. in *kaṭaka* pose, holding a blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) the left pendent (*lola hasta*). The goddess wears a *dhotī* in several folds, and elaborate jewellery, viz., high crown terminating in three rings (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*), combined with the tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*) the lower part of which encircling the forehead is fringed with pearl festoons, the finial (*śikhāmaṇi*) of the crown with three diminishing rings; the usual lotus plaque at the back of the head (*śiras-cakra* ?), earrings (*makara kuṇḍala*); around the throat a cord (*maṅgala sutra*) with marriage symbol (*tāli*, Tam.); necklaces (*ratna-hārā*); a jewelled cord (*channavīra*) passing round the neck, between the breasts, below which the two parts of the cord are joined by a clasp, and around the abdomen; armlets (upper arm and elbow); cylindrical bracelets; a belt (*udara-bandha*); girdle (*kaṭi-bandha* or *mekhala*); anklets (cylindrical above the ankle, oval on the feet); thumb rings, finger rings, toe rings. Pedestal, *padma-pīṭha* and *bhadra-pīṭha*, with rings for attachment when carried in procession. Devī is here the consort (*Śakti*) of Śiva, and this image must have stood beside some *Umā-sahita-mūrti* of Śiva, perhaps the Naṭarājā, M. F. A. 21.1829.

Copper, with greenish patina. Southern India. Fifteenth century (?)

Height, .752 m. From the Beardsell Collection. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE LII.

21.1820. Devī as Umā (Śivakāmī): standing figure in *ābhaṅga* inclined to proper left, the r. h. raised in *kaṭaka* pose, the left pendent (*lola hasta*). The goddess appears to be wearing trousers of printed material or batik, joined at each side of the leg: but the projecting folds of material at the left groin and at the back suggest a *dhotī*. The elaborate jewellery consists of a high crown (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*), the tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*) portion of which is fringed with pearls which hang in festoons on the forehead, the finial

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(*śikhāmaṇi*) with three diminishing rings; crocodile earrings (*makara kuṇḍala*), around the throat a cord (*maṅgala sūtra*) with marriage symbol (*tāli*), other necklaces (*ratna hārā*, etc.), armlets, bracelets, rings, anklets, a jewelled girdle (*mekhala*) with *kīrti-mukha* clasp and from which hang pearl festoons, below this a narrower girdle (*kaṭibandha*) hanging in a loop; and a sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) consisting of a single row of beads or pearls. The usual lotus plaque (*śirascakra* ?) at the back of the head appears to have been separately cast and is now missing.

Copper. Southern India. Fourteenth to fifteenth century.

Height, .590 m. Gift of Sir William Beardsell.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE LII.

21.1827. Devī as Umā, seated at ease (*lalitāsana*), the left leg pendent, the r. h. in *kaṭaka* pose, as if holding a flower, the left in *varada* pose (charity). The goddess wears a *dhōṭī*, and jewellery as follows: high crown (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*) terminating in diminishing rings, and circular lotus plaque (*śirascakra* ?) at the back of the head; crocodile earrings (*makara kuṇḍala*), necklaces, armlets, bracelets, rings, girdle (*kaṭibandha*) and anklets (*nu-pura*) with bells; sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) consisting of a single row of pearls or circular beads.

Copper. Southern India. Twelfth to fourteenth century.

Dimensions, .422 × .254 × .195 m. From the Beardsell Collection.

Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Published: Smith, V. A., *History of fine art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, fig. 175 (assigned to twelfth century); and Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE LIII.

83.53. Caṇḍī (Cāmuṇḍā), i.e. Durgā as Mahiṣamardinī, slaying the bull demon Mahiṣa. The goddess is eight-armed and wears a crown and *dhōṭī*. Two of the hands hold the tail and hair of a dog-like creature with a human head. The forward right hand intended to hold a spear. Other weapons and attributes recognizable include the discus (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*). A bull's head on the flat surface of the square pedestal. Detachable *toraṇa* surmounted by a *kīrti-mukha* and with a five-hooded cobra in the lunette.

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Brass, crude workmanship. Poona. Eighteenth century.

Height, .165 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

21.1306. Kālī (tāmasik form of Devī), four-armed, seated on a pedestal. One right hand broken. The l. r. h. is in *kaṭaka hasta* held high, the u. r. h. held lower, is broken away (perhaps should have the drum, *ḍamaru*); the u. l. h. holds the noose (*pāśa*), the l. l. h. the skull cup (*kapāla*). Crescent moon in head dress, incisor teeth projecting: breasts prominently projecting. The figure has been painted black.

Copper. Southern India. Fifteenth century (?)

Height, .10 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 118, 1922.

PLATE LIV.

21.1309. Gaurī, four-armed, seated at ease (*sukhāsana*) with right leg pendent, on a lotus seat (*padmāsana*). Normal hands in *abhaya* and *varada* pose, u. r. h. with axe (*paraśu*), u. l. h. with noose (*pāśa*). The goddess wears a *dhotī*, girdle (*kaṭibandha*) and breast-band (*kucabandha*), a high crown (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*) and usual jewellery.

Copper. Southern India. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .120 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LIV.

21.1694. Fragment, head and bust of a female figure, the hand of another figure passed under the left arm caressing the breast: probably from a Śiva and Pārvatī (Umā-maheśvarā) group.

Cream sandstone. North central India. Twelfth to fourteenth century.

Height, .19 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXIX.

21.1295. Pārvatī, seated at ease, with left leg pendent, on rectangular pedestal, the r. h. raised in *kaṭaka hasta*, the left resting on the pedestal. Costume: *dhotī*, jewellery, and sacred thread.

Copper. Southern India. Seventeenth century (?)

Dimensions, .074 × .040 × .034 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LIV.

SCULPTURE

21.1298. Pārvatī, seated on lotus (*padmāsana*) on a rectangular pedestal (*bhadrāpīṭha*), r. h. raised in *kaṭaka* position, l. h. resting on the seat.

Copper. Southern India. Fifteenth century.

Height, .050 m. Similar to M. F. A. 21.1295. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXXI.

21.1484. Bracket from a temple car: lion rampant, half *affronté*, a female figure with a shield, probably Durgā seated on its back, and below, a figure of an *asura* in fighting pose, with short sword and shield. Much ant-eaten.

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .720 × .133 × .240 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LI.

Gaṇapati

99.54. Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa), seated figure, four-armed: the upper arm with axe (*ṭaṅka*) and elephant goad? (*aṅkuśa*), the l. l. h. in *abhaya hasta* (indicating "fear not"), the trunk taking food from a vessel held in the l. r. h.

Brass. Height, .043 m. Bequest of Henry C. Warren.

PLATE L.

99.55. Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa), seated figure, two-armed.

Copper. Height, .042 m. Bequest of Henry C. Warren.

83.129. Gaṇapati (Gaṇeśa), seated figure, four-armed: the upper hands holding axe (*ṭaṅka*) and elephant goad (*aṅkuśa*), the l. r. with another attribute, the trunk taking food from a vessel held in the l. l. h.

Brass. Poona. Nineteenth century (?)

Height, .055 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

Subrahmanya

21.1466. Panel, countersunk in high relief: Subrahmanya, as *Ṣaṇmukha*, six-headed, with two arms only (r. h. with *śakti*, l. h. embracing the peacock's neck), riding on the peacock: with two *Śaktis*, *Jaya* and *Vijaya*. The devīs hold palm leaves (?) in the hands remote from the deity, the

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inner arms being pendent (*lola hasta*). The three figures together represented as in a pavilion (*vimāna*) on wheels. Cf. M. F. A. 21.1468 and 21.1469.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .325 × .314 × .034 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LII.

21.1468. Triptych, countersunk in high relief, with Subrahmanya and his Śaktis, Vallī and Devasenā. The deity is four-armed, and rides on a peacock: l. r. h. in *abhaya hasta*, u. r. h. with *vajra*, u. l. h. with *śakti* (Tam. *vel*), l. r. h. with bow (*dhanus*). The deity wears a *dhotī*: and high crown (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*), *chhannavīra*, and other jewellery as usual. The Śaktis carry blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) flowers in the hands next to the deity, the outer hands being pendent. The whole group is represented as riding in a car drawn by two horses. Cf. M. F. A. 21.1466 and 21.1469.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .39 × .318 × .036 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LV.

21.1469. Triptych, countersunk in high relief, with Subrahmanya (Kārtikeya) and his Śaktis Vallī and Devasenā. The deity is four-armed, the lower hands *abhaya* and *varada*, the two upper each with *śakti* (Tam. *vel*). Subrahmanya wears a *dhotī*, *kirīṭa mukuṭa*, and the usual jewellery and sacred thread. Behind the deity is his vehicle, the peacock, with a cobra in its mouth. Devasenā, to proper right, carries a blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) in her left hand, next the deity; her right arm pendent (*lola hasta*): Vallī in the reverse position, on the proper left, with full blown *padma*. Both goddesses wear the *dhotī*, *kirīṭa mukuṭa*, and usual jewellery. The three figures framed under a three-pointed canopy. Cf. M. F. A. 21.1466 and 21.1468.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

SCULPTURE

Dimensions, .304 × .385 × .037 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LV.

21.1297. Subrahmanya, four-armed standing figure on pedestal: normal hands in *abhaya* and *varada* position, u. r. h. with *śakti*, u. l. h. with *vajra*. Wears a *kirīṭa mukuṭa*, jewellery and sacred thread. Fracture at the ankles, repaired.

Copper. Southern India. Eighteenth century.

Height, .105 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LIV.

21.1300. Subrahmanya, twelve-armed, in dancing pose, on a pedestal. The l. r. h. is *kartarī mukha*, the u. r. h. carries the *śakti*, the remaining right hands with various attributes, amongst them elephant goad (*aṅkuṣa*) and trident (*triśūla*): the u. l. h. carries the *vajra*, the l. l. h. is *kaṭaka mukha*, the remaining left hands with various attributes including the noose (*pāśa*) and perhaps lotus and mace.

Copper. Southern India. Eighteenth century (?)

Height, .089 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LIV.

Aiyanār

21.1839. Bracket, probably part of a temple car, with figure of Aiyanār, with bow and arrow, aiming at a figure below. Aiyanār has an attendant with insignia (circular fan on a pole), another, probably Madurai-Vīran or Pāvādairāyan, with lifted shield and a dagger fighting a soldier with a sword: a demon attendant supporting the horse's four feet. On the other side, another figure on the same horse, leaning to strike one of two fighting figures below: the carving much eroded or ant-eaten on this side.

Wood. Madurā. Seventeenth century (?)

Dimensions, .765 × .153 × .365 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

For Aiyanār, see Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, pp. 229, 230; Parker, H., *Ancient Ceylon*, London, 1909; Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*.

PLATE LVI.

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21.1467. Panel from a temple car, carved in high relief: Aiyanār, four-armed, the l. r. h. and l. l. h. holding the handle of a mace (*gadā*), about the head of which a cobra is coiled, the u. r. h. with short curved sword (*khaḍga*), the u. l. h. with shield (*kheṭaka*). The right leg is raised and crosses the left.

The deity wears hair dressed high (*jaṭā mukuta*), short ribbed drawers or *dhotī*, a scarf, the usual jewellery and a garland of beads: no sacred thread, above a *kīrti-mukha*, below an architectural pediment with 'caitya windows.'

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .565 × .182 × .098 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LVI.

17.2351. Aiyanār (son of Śiva and Mohinī), equestrian figure with sword. Copper. Southern India. Eighteenth century.

Height, .055 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Cf. Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, Madras, 1916, fig. 141, and pp. 229, 230.

PLATE LXXI.

b. Vaiṣṇava

21.1833. Viṣṇu, standing figure, erect, four-armed: lotus pedestal on square base with rings for attachment when carried in procession. The l. r. h. in *abhaya hasta*, the u. r. h. in *kartarī mukha*, raised to the shoulder with discus (*cakra*), the u. l. h. in the same position with conch (*śaṅkha*), the l. l. h. approximately in *sūci hasta*, as in M. F. A. 21.1825. The arms bifurcate from the elbow, as in the Śiva, M. F. A. 21.1831. A relatively early date is suggested for this figure by several features, particularly the simple form of the crown, and of the *cakra* and *śaṅkha*, which are provided with flames, but without streamers or ribbons (on these points, cf. Jouveau-Dubreuil, G., *Archéologie du sud de l'Inde*, tome II, Paris, 1914, ch. 2, L'Iconographie vichnouite, with figures 15 and 17). The image is considerably worn.

Brass. Southern India. Fourteenth century (?)

Height, .635 m. From the Beardsell Collection. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LVII.

SCULPTURE

83.51. Viṣṇu, standing figure, four-handed: l. r. h. in *varada hasta* (indicating benevolence), u. r. h. with discus (*cakra*), u. l. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*), l. l. h. on the thigh (*kaṭyavalambita hasta*). To right, the goddess Lakṣmī (Śrī-devī) with lotus in her left hand: to left, Pṛthvī (Bhūmi-devī) with blue lotus in right hand. Before the pedestal, adoring figures (one missing) of the Pūjakamunis Bhṛgu and Mārkaṇḍeya. Detachable *toraṇa*, surmounted by a *kīrti-mukha*, the lunette with a five-hooded cobra. Five separate pieces.

Copper. Southern India. Nineteenth century.

Height, .174 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.118. Viṣṇu, standing figure, four-armed: l. r. h. in *varada hasta*, u. r. h. with discus (*cakra*), u. l. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*), l. l. h. on the thigh (*kaṭyavalambita hasta*). Backed by a large seven-hooded cobra.

Copper castings in three separate pieces; square pedestal. Southern India, Madras. Nineteenth century.

Height, .146 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.119. Viṣṇu: similar in all respects to 83.118. Southern India, Madras. Eighteenth century.

Height, .124 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

(Both these like the central figure in 83.51.)

83.121. Viṣṇu (Trivikrama), standing figure, four-armed: l. r. h. with lotus (*padma*), u. r. h. with the mace (*gadā*), u. l. h. with discus (*cakra*), l. l. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*). Viṣṇu wears a high crown (*kirīṭa mukuṭa*), earrings, *dhotī* and garland (*vanamālā*). Right and left of him are smaller figures of the goddesses Lakṣmī (Śrī-devī) and Pṛthvī (Bhūmi-devī) respectively holding a lotus (*padma*) and blue water lily (*nīlotpala*), and beside these figures two others still smaller, of dwarf-like appearance. *Toraṇa* one piece with the rest of the casting, the upper part broken away.

Brass, much worn by the application of *tilak*, traces of the sandal paste still remaining in the angles of the figure. Northern school (obtained in Ahmadābād, Lockwood de Forest, 1891).

Height, .102 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

PLATE LVIII.

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17.2333. Viṣṇu, (Trivikrama), standing figure, four-armed: l. r. h. with lotus (*padma*), u. r. h. with mace (*gadā*), u. l. h. with discus (*cakra*), l. l. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*): wearing a high crown, earrings, two necklaces (one with a large pendant, presumably the jewel *kaustubha*, long garland, armlets, bracelets, anklets, and *dhotī*. The sacred thread (*yajñopavīta*) plain, and like most of the jewellery and originally the eyes and sectarian mark which are now defaced, in silver. Lotus pedestal (*padma-pīṭha*) attached to a small modern base.

Brass, much worn by application of *tilak*. Northern India. Twelfth century.

Height, .121 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95, 1918.

PLATE LVIII.

17.2338. Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa), standing figure (*sthānakamūrti*): l. r. h., with conch (*śaṅkha*), u. r. h. with lotus (*padma*), u. l. h. with mace (*gadā*), l. l. h. with discus? (*cakra*). Two small standing male figures right and left in attitudes of adoration there are probably the Pūjakamunis Bhṛḡu and Mārkaṇḍeya. Thin flat pedestal with small worshipping figure of Garuḍa.

Brass. Mathurā. Fifteenth century (style of 17.2337, dated A.D. 1491).

Height, .102 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LVIII.

17.2339. Viṣṇu (Keśava or Pradyumna), standing figure (*sthānakamūrti*): l. r. h. with lotus (*padma*), u. r. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*), u. l. h. with discus (*cakra*), l. l. h. with mace (*gadā*). Wears high crown, garland, sacred thread and usual jewellery. Attended by female and male figures standing right and left, viz., the goddess Pṛthvī (Bhūmi-devī) and the ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya, and beside these two smaller figures, kneeling. *Toraṇa* in one piece with the rest of the casting, *vidyādhara*s right and left at the base of the arch.

Bronze. Mathurā, probably from the bed of the Jamna, the interstices still choked with hard calcareous concretion. Fifteenth century.

Height, .098 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LVIII.

SCULPTURE

21.1710. Fragment of architectural ornament, with one nearly complete figure of Viṣṇu and another right arms and right leg only: the figures in high relief, in canopied niches. The principal figure with lower hands in *yoga* position, u. r. h. with attribute now broken, u. l. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*): side figure, l. r. h. in *abhaya hasta*, u. r. h. with mace (*gadā*).

Grey sandstone. North central India. Fifteenth century (?)

Height, .195 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXVIII.

21.1316. Viṣṇu and Rāma group. A perforated relief, with figures in three canopied niches. In the central niche, Viṣṇu, standing, four-armed, the normal hands in *abhaya* and *varada* positions, the upper hands with attributes (should be *cakra* and *śaṅkha*, but scarcely recognizable): supported by Garuḍa, a winged human figure kneeling and striding with outstretched hands, and sheltered by the hood of a five-hooded cobra. On the proper right Lakṣmaṇa and Hanuman in attitudes of worship (*añjali hasta*), on the proper left Rāma and Sītā, the former with bow and spear, the latter with a lotus in the right hand, the left hand pendent. The upper edge of the projecting central canopy is flanked by two parrots, next to which are two lions, and on the extreme right and left, the discus (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*). In the upper outer corners of the spandrils of the lateral niches are represented the sun and moon. Ring and loops at the back. Possibly a breastplate.

Brass. Southern India. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .140 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LIX.

21.1721. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa: perforated slab, with seated figures in high relief, the heads and torsos of the two figures intact, the remainder broken away. Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa) is four-armed, and wears a *kirīṭa mukuṭa*, the usual jewellery, and a plain sacred thread, the u. l. h. holds the mace (*gadā*), the l. l. h. the discus (*cakra*). Lakṣmī, seated upon Viṣṇu's thigh, wears a lower crown and the usual jewellery.

Cream sandstone. North central India. Twelfth to fourteenth century (?)

Height, .495 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LX.

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17.2337. Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa, seated figure (*āsana-mūrti*) of Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), four-armed: l. r. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*), u. r. h. with lotus (*padma*), u. l. h. with mace (*gadā*), l. l. h. supporting Lakṣmī seated on his left thigh: she with one hand on his shoulder, the other holding a water lily (*nīlot-pala*). The eyes and sectarian mark inlaid with silver, but now almost completely worn away. Two small standing attendants (male ?) and a dwarfish figure probably representing Garuḍa. *Toraṇa* in one piece with the rest of the casting, surmounted by a *caitya* (a vestige of Buddhist or Jaina influence ?). Reverse with dated inscription in Nāgarī characters.

Brass. Mathurā, probably from the river, still partly covered by a calcareous deposit. Dated = A.D. 1491.

Height, .121 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Inscription in Nāgarī characters:

Sam(vat) 1548 v(arṣe) āṣāḍha śu(di) 2 bhūme śrī dīsāvālu(?) jñānāya śre(ṣṭhi) kaḍuā bhā(ryā) kāmālude su(ta) bijhapālu bhrā hānnā suta māṅkā māṁ jhā dhīrā śrī lakṣmī nārāyaṇa pra(tiṣṭhitam) e(?) mīm tābha dīsānā.

The name of Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa and the date, the second day of the light fortnight of Āṣāḍha of the Samvat Year 1548, are very clear: the donors appear to be Seṭh Kaḍuā, his wife Kāmālude, their son Bijhapālu and his brother Hānā and the latter's son Māṅkā.

PLATE LIX.

17.2336. Kṛṣṇa Baṁsīdhara, or Veṇugopāla: standing figure with a tasseled flute, attended by two gopīs with fly whisks, and cows. Kṛṣṇa wears his hair knotted at side of the back of the head; earrings, armlets, bracelets, girdle and anklets; *dhotī* and long garland (*vanamālā*). A floral *torāṇa* with human figures rises from the perforated pedestal: on the front of the latter there is a small worshipping figure of Garuḍa.

Brass. Northern India. Twelfth to thirteenth century.

Height, .155 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Rajput Painting*, p. 80 and pl. LXXVII.

PLATE LIX.

19.692. Kṛṣṇa Baṁsīdhara, or Veṇugopāla, standing figure with the flute: the upper part of the face much worn by applications of sandal paste.

SCULPTURE

Clothed in a *dhori*, with crown, necklace, earrings, armlets, bracelets and anklets.

Brass. Gujarāt. Sixteenth to seventeenth century.

Height, .213 m. Wetzell Collection.

PLATE LXV.

17.2341. Bāla Kṛṣṇa (Bāla Mukunda), the child Kṛṣṇa as butter-thief "*Makkhanchor*") or sweetmeat-Gopāla (*Laḍu-Gopāla*): nude except for crown and jewellery, crawling, with a ball of butter in the raised hand.

Brass. Fourteenth to fifteenth century.

Height, .073 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXI.

17.2346. Bāla Kṛṣṇa (Bāla Mukunda), the child Kṛṣṇa as butter-thief: nude except for crown and jewellery, crawling, with a ball of butter in the raised hand.

Brass. Fifteenth to sixteenth century.

Height, .048 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXI.

21.1308. Bāla Kṛṣṇa (Bāla Mukunda), the child Kṛṣṇa as butter-thief, standing figure, the right hand raised to the lips, the left holding a ball of butter: nude, except for elaborate jewellery, including a girdle with bells. Kṛṣṇa is here represented as actually eating the butter.

Copper. Southern India. Seventeenth century (?)

Height, .156 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXI.

21.1312. Bāla Kṛṣṇa (Bāla Mukunda), the child Kṛṣṇa as butter-thief: nude, except for jewellery, crawling, with butter in the raised hand. Copper, patinated and encrusted.

Copper. Southern India. Fifteenth century (?)

Height, .109 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

21.1825. Bāla Kṛṣṇa (*Navanīta-nṛtta mūrti*), the child Kṛṣṇa as Butter-thief, dancing. The left arm extended horizontally, the hand *patāka*, the right hand raised approximately in *sūci hasta* (as in M. F. A. 21.1833): the left foot raised. Nude except for jewellery. Lotus pedestal.

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Copper. Southern India. Sixteenth century (?)

Dimensions, .472 × .354 × .200 m. From the Beardsell Collection.
Marianne Brimmer Fund.

This is a favorite representation of Kṛṣṇa, of which examples are to be found in many collections, differing only in minor details, chiefly in respect of the finger positions of the left hand, a point not precisely defined in the canon, which states, however, that the r. h. must be extended in *patāka*, which is always adhered to.

A very similar example in the Goloubew collection is figured in *Viśvakarmā*, pl. 49: others in Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. I, pt. 1.

PLATE LXII.

17.1226. Bāla Kṛṣṇa (Bāla Mukunda), the child Kṛṣṇa as butter-thief: nude except for crown and jewellery, crawling, with a pat of butter in the raised hand.

Copper. Fifteenth to sixteenth century.

Height, .09 m. Ross collection.

PLATE LXI.

17.2342. Bāla Kṛṣṇa (*navanīta nṛtta-mūrti*), the child Kṛṣṇa as butter-thief, in the dance called *Navanīta-nṛtta*: nude except for crown and jewellery, dancing with a ball of butter in the right hand.

Copper. Fifteenth century.

Height, .082 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXI.

83.112. Kāliyāhi-mārddaka Kṛṣṇa, dancing figure, four-armed: l. r. h. with butter-ball, the u. r. h. with lotus (*padma*) or mace (*gadā*), u. l. h. with discus (*cakra*), l. l. h. with conch (*śaṅkha*). Kṛṣṇa wears a six-pointed crown, the usual jewellery, and a *dhotī*, and stands on the head of the serpent (*nāga*) or hydra, Kāliya, executing a dance of victory, the right foot being raised.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth century (?)

Height, .117 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

PLATE LXVI.

SCULPTURE

21.1313. Bāla Kṛṣṇa (Vaṭapatraśāyin), the child Kṛṣṇa lying on his back, sucking his toe. This form of Bāla Kṛṣṇa is called Vaṭapatraśāyin, and represents Viṣṇu lying on a leaf of the vata tree (*Ficus Indica*), floating in the cosmic ocean at the commencement of the period following a dissolution (*mahā pralaya*) of the Universe.

Brass. South India. Sixteenth to seventeenth century.

Height, .108 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

At the close of a *mahā pralaya* period Viṣṇu is represented as Jalaśāyin, still floating in the cosmic sea, but supported by the serpent Ananta or Ādiśesa, with Brahmā born from the lotus that springs from Viṣṇu's navel.

PLATE LXI.

21.1299. Śrī Devī (Lakṣmī), standing figure with lotus in left hand, right hand pendent on lotus pedestal. Probably from a Viṣṇu *bhoga-stānaka-mūrti* group.

Copper. Southern India. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .076 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

83.113. Śrī Devī (Lakṣmī): standing figure with high crown and usual jewellery, holding a blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) in the left hand.

Brass. Southern India. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Height, .143 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.115. Bhūmi-devī (Pṛthvī): standing figure, with high crown and usual jewellery, holding a lotus in the right hand.

Brass. Southern India. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Height, .07 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

c. Śaiva Saints and Bhaktas

17.1095. Figure of a boy, probably Tiru Jñāna Sambandha Swāmi, a Śaiva saint, standing nude except for jewellery, the right hand extended, a bowl in the left. The possibility of an identification of this figure as an infant Kṛṣṇa has also been suggested.

Copper, with greenish and earthy patina. Southern India. About fourteenth century.

Height, .465 m. Ross Collection.

Tiru Jñāna Sambandha Swāmi is next to Māṇikka Vāṇagar the most popular of the Tamil Śaiva saints and psalmists. His image is daily wor-

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shipped in a majority of the Śaiva temples. The legend relates that at the age of three, while his father was bathing, he was left alone on the *ghāt* (at Shikali, in the Tanjore district); in response to his cry, the goddess of the place appeared and gave him a cup of her own milk. When the father returned, the child pointed in the direction in which the goddess had vanished and uttered a hymn which now stands first in the great collection called *Tevāram*. He became a wandering preacher, a great opponent of the Buddhists, and reestablished the Śaiva faith in Madura. On the day of his wedding he was translated bodily to heaven, with the bride and all the guests.

Tiru Jñāna Sambandha, however, is more usually represented as carrying in his hands the pair of cymbals which he is said to have received from Śiva, and with which he went about singing hymns of praise.

There is some uncertainty about his date, but little doubt that he lived in the seventh century A.D.

For the story and date, see Sundaram Pillai, *Some milestones in the history of Tamil literature, or The age of Tiru Jñāna Sambandha*, Tamilian Antiquary, no. 3, pp. 4, 60; Farquhar, J. N., *Outline of the religious literature of India*, 1920, p. 196; Aiyangar, M. S., *Tamil studies*, 1914, pp. 402, 409.

Other images of Tiru Jñāna Sambandha Swāmi are illustrated in Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Bronzes from Ceylon*, fig. 20, Colombo, 1914; India Society, *Eleven Plates* (of Indian Sculpture), London, n. d., pl. iv: and Havell, E. B., *The zenith of Indian sculpture*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. I, 1912–13, fig. 6.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, no. 95.

PLATE LXIII.

99.53. Nandi: Śiva's bull, with small lingam, on rectangular pedestal, with detachable cobra screen.

Brass. Sixteenth to seventeenth century.

Height, .19 m. Bequest of Henry C. Warren.

PLATE L.

17.2344. Figure of a bearded man, a devotee (*bhakta*) or contemplative (*ācārya*), seated in *yogāsana* upon a tortoise (*kurmāsana*) on a square ped-

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estal (*pīṭha*). The hair dressed in a high knot (*jaṭā mukuṭa*), the right hand holding a rosary (*akṣa-mālā*), the left in *abhaya hasta* ("do not fear"). Wears earrings, necklace, armlets, bracelets and *dhotī*. A *yoga paṭṭa* around the buttocks and knees. No *yajñopavīta*, hence the sage may not be a Brāhmaṇ. Near the left leg is a yogī's water pot (*kamaṇḍalu*).

Brass. Southern school. Sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Height, .073 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Possibly a *paṇḍāra sannadhi* or some other Śaiva saint, or Agastya or some other ṛṣi. Compare Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, p. 254.

PLATE L.

d. Vaiṣṇava Saints and Bhaktas

21.1304. Śrī Rāmānujācārya: seated in *vīrāsana*, the hands in *añjali* position, supporting a flag against the right arm. Vaiṣṇava sectarian marks on forehead and arms.

Copper. Southern India. Sixteenth century.

Height, .064 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Cf. M. F. A. 21.1307, pedestal figure.

For similar figures see Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, Madras, 1916, fig. 160 d. and Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, pl. cxxxvi (here the flag is placed to the left).

Rāmānujācārya (b. 1016) is the greatest of the Vaiṣṇava philosopher saints (*ācāryas*) after the Age of the Twelve Āḷvārs, and the author of many works, of which the most important is the *Śrī Bhāṣya* in which he interprets the Vedānta in a theistic sense (*Viśiṣṭādvaita*, in contradistinction to the *Advaita* of Śaṅkarācārya). For the life and doctrines of Rāmānujācārya see Bhandarkar, R. G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems*, Strassburg, 1913, pp. 50–57, and Farquhar, J. H., *Outline of the religious literature of India*, Oxford, 1920, pp. 240 ff.

PLATE LXIV.

21.1301. Vaiṣṇava saint (*āḷvār*), probably Nammāḷvār (fl. first half of 10th century), the last and most famous of the Twelve Āḷvārs. The saint is seated in *vīrāsana* on a lotus pedestal, the r. h. raised in exposition

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(*vyākhyāna* literature). Vaiṣṇava sectarian marks on the forehead and arms; hair knotted to left; costume consisting of *dhōṭī*, jewellery and sacred thread. The letter *N* in Tamil script engraved on a petal of the lotus seat may stand for Nammālvār.

Copper. Southern India. Eighteenth century (?)

Height, .08 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

The presence of the sacred thread might appear to throw doubt on the identification, as Nammālvār was a Vellāḷa, and so, strictly speaking, a Śūdra. The Vellāḷas, however, at least in modern times, wear the sacred thread. It may be remarked that the Vaiṣṇava saints do not lay aside the sacred thread on adopting their vocation, holding that a man should continue to perform his social duties while seeking the knowledge of God with a view to ultimate release.

PLATE LXIV.

21.1302. Vaiṣṇava saint, perhaps Nammālvār (fl. ca. 950 A.D.), seated in *vīrāsana* on lotus pedestal.

Copper. Southern India. Sixteenth century (?)

Height, .073 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

For a similar figure, see Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, pl. cxxxvi.

PLATE LXIV.

21.1303. Tirumaṅgaiyālvār, standing figure with sword and shield on lotus pedestal.

Copper. Southern India. Seventeenth century (?)

Height, .093 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

For similar figures see Rao, T. A. G., *Elements of Hindu iconography*, Vol. II, pl. cxxxvi; Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, fig. 160 e. Tirumaṅgaiyālvār was originally a feudal chief of the *Kallar* (robber) caste, afterwards a Vaiṣṇava devotee, occupying himself in temple service; he is the author of many hymns and one of the most learned of all the Vaiṣṇava saints. He "must have flourished between A.D. 680 and 760" (Aiyangar, M. S., *Tamil studies*, Madras, 1914, pp. 311-320). See also Aiyar, K. G. Seshu, *Tirumangai Azhvar and Danti-durga*, Q. J. Myth. Soc. Bangalore, XII, 4, 1921.

PLATE LXIV.

SCULPTURE

21.1307. Śrī Vedānta Deśika, seated in *vīrāsana*, the r. h. raised in exposition (*vyākhyāna*): below, a similarly seated figure of a saint or disciple, bald headed, also with Vaiṣṇava sectarian mark with hands in *añjali* position, and with a staff (*tridaṇḍa*) or flag supported by the right arm.

Copper. Southern India. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .098 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Śrī Vedānta Deśika, a southern Vaiṣṇava *ācārya*, and leader of the Śrī Vaiṣṇavas in Śrīraṅgam, just after the middle of the fourteenth century, a prolific author and controversialist, second only in importance to Rāmānuja. Cf. Aiyangar, M. S., *Tamil studies*, Madras, 1914, pp. 222, 385; Farquhar, J. N., *Outline of the religious history of India*, 1920, p. 319; Sastri, H. K., *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, Madras, 1916, fig. 160 b.

The *ācārya* wears a *dhotī* and jewellery, but no sacred thread: the hair is bound with a jewelled fillet, and coquettishly knotted. Vaiṣṇava sectarian mark (*ūrdhwapuṇḍra*) on the forehead. The worshipping figure on the pedestal, evidently another Vaiṣṇava devotee, corresponds with the usual representations of Rāmānujācārya (Sastri, H. K., *loc. cit.*, fig. 160 d).

PLATE LXIV.

21.1296. Garuḍa, forming the base of a pedestal, originally supporting three figures, probably a Viṣṇu *bhogastānaka-mūrti* group. The pedestal is also supported by two lions rampant. Garuḍa has the usual form of a winged human figure, kneeling and striding, with outstretched hands. The figure of Garuḍa is supported by a secondary pedestal.

Brass. Southern India. Nineteenth century.

Height, .057 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXVI.

21.1315. Garuḍa, kneeling and striding winged figure with outstretched hands, on pedestal: wearing a *dhotī*, *kirīṭa mukuṭa*, and usual jewellery.

Brass. Southern India. Nineteenth century.

Height, .093 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

17.2343. Hanuman: standing on lotus pedestal (*padma-pīṭha*), leaning forward with hands clasped in adoration, the eyes enormous. Nude except for a small waistcloth.

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Brass, with dark coppery patina. Southern school. Sixteenth century (?)
Height, .225 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95.

PLATE LXV.

e. Deified Heroes

83.49. Khande Rāo (deified Marāṭhā hero): seated on a camel, sword (broken) in right hand, circular shield in left. Rider detachable: rectangular pedestal.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .251 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.50. Khande Rāo (deified Marāṭhā hero): four-armed equestrian figure, supporting wife with lower left arm and with sword in lower right hand: upper hands with attributes. Rider detachable: rectangular pedestal.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .17 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.52. Khande Rāo (deified Marāṭhā hero): equestrian figure. The right hand, originally with sword, broken away, the left holding a circular shield. Rider detachable: rectangular pedestal.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .127 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.107. Khande Rāo (deified Marāṭhā hero): equestrian figure, 'supporting his wife with the left arm,' the right hand holding a sword. Rider detachable from horse: rectangular pedestal.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .159 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.108. Khande Rāo (deified Marāṭhā hero): equestrian figure: r. h. with short sword, l. h. with shield. Rider detachable: rectangular pedestal.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .16 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.110. Khande Rāo (deified Marāṭhā hero): equestrian figure with sword in right hand. Rider in one piece with horse: rectangular pedestal.

SCULPTURE

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth century.

Height, .14 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

PLATE LXVI.

83.111. Khande Rāo (deified Marāṭhā hero): equestrian figure, supporting his wife with the left arm, which also carries a circular shield, the right hand with sword. Rider detachable (and does not correspond to the horse): rectangular pedestal.

Brass. Poona. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .174 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

Khande Rāo, originally a Brāhmaṇ owing advancement to Haidar Ali of Mysore, joined the Marāṭhās, but was defeated in battle (1763) and died a year later in captivity. He is apotheosized with his wife in the form of Śiva and Pārvatī.

f. Miscellaneous (Brāhmaṇical)

21.1705. Head and part of the bust of a male figure wearing an elaborate crown and jewellery. Possibly a Sūrya Deva, or a Bodhisattva.

Sandstone. North central India. Twelfth to fourteenth century (?)

Height, .250 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXVIII.

21.1521. Head of a deity or king, with seven-tiered crown, and large jewelled earrings.

Greenish trap rock. Southern India, or Deccan. Fifteenth century (?)

Height, .298 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXVIII.

21.1526. Seated figure of a four-armed goddess: head and hands broken away. The goddess wears a short *dhotī* and elaborate jewellery, and a ribbon-like sacred thread. A portion of the *prabhā maṇḍala* remains on the proper left. On lotus seat.

Green trap. Southern India. Twelfth to fourteenth century.

Height, .420 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXVII.

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83.122. Standing figure of a four-armed deity, two upper hands broken, l. r. h. *varada hasta*, l. l. h. *kaṭyavalambita hasta*.

Brass.

Height, .079 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

83.123. Toy figure (?) stout male figure in a *dhotī* and figured coat, with large (Marāṭhā?) turban; the right hand with a flower.

Brass. Western India. Eighteenth century.

Height, .127 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

PLATE LXX.

83.58. Toy figures, man and woman seated on a bench, the man similar to 83.123.

Brass. Bombay.

Height, .067 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

21.1693. Figure of an attendant deity, forming the lower left hand angle of a larger composition: the r. h. holding a flower (?), the l. h. *kaṭyavalambita*; *śiras-cakra* behind the head.

Cream sandstone. North central India. Twelfth to fourteenth century.

Dimensions, .268 × .122 × .150 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXVIII.

99.50. Nude figure of a woman, possibly a *gopī* (Rādhā?), on circular lotus pedestal. The hands in *varada* and *abhaya hasta* ("benevolence" and "do not fear"). Earrings, armlets, bracelets, anklets.

Bronze.

Height, .125 m. Bequest of Henry C. Warren.

99.51. Incense burner, in the form of an *apsaras*, one hand pendent (*lola hasta*), the other raised with the fingers touching the thumb (*kaṭaka hasta*), forming a ring for the stick of incense.

Height, .125 m. Bequest of Henry C. Warren.

PLATE LXVI.

17.2348. Toy elephant, with raised trunk.

Brass. Rājputāna. Seventeenth century (?)

Height, .101 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXX.

SCULPTURE

17.2349. Toy deer, legs broken.

Brass. Rājputāna. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Height, .119 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Viśvakarmā*, pl. LXXXIX.

PLATE LXX.

17.2350. Toy horse, with hinged saddle now missing, the hollow body forming a box. Originally on wheels.

Brass. Rājputāna. Eighteenth to nineteenth century (?)

Height, .153 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Reproduced: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Viśvakarmā*, pl. LXXXIX.

PLATE LXX.

83.124. Toy parrot.

Brass. Southern India(?) Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, .035 × .118 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

21.1707. Female attendant, the l. h. holding the stem of a vine. Part of a larger composition; the r. h. of the principal figure alone remains, holding an *akṣamālā*.

Cream sandstone. North central India. Fifteenth century (?)

Height, .262 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXVIII.

21.1704. Female figure (*apsaras*), a dancer with cymbals: broken portion of architectural ornament.

Cream sandstone. North central India. Twelfth to fourteenth century.

Height, .345 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXIX.

21.1690. Fragment of architectural ornament.

Two male figures, standing, in high relief: the rest lacking.

Cream sandstone. North central India, from the Aligarh district.

Twelfth to fourteenth century.

Height, .236 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXIX.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

21.1691. Head and bust of an *apsaras*, with the upper part of a *vīṇā* held in the left hand, all below the waist broken away.

Cream sandstone. North central India. Twelfth to fourteenth century.
Dimensions, .132 × .105 × .055 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

21.1317. Vaiṣṇava *prabhā-toraṇa*: a perforated screen for an image, probably of Viṣṇu. The lower part of the screen is of the architectural throneback type, with the usual leo-griff (or *gaja sinha*?) rearing upon an elephant. The upper part is of the *makara toraṇa* type, but the *makaras* are provided with quadruped lion-like bodies. The crown of the arch is a *kīrti-mukha*; the centre is occupied by the branches of a tree (which rises from the base) bearing on its summit a five-hooded cobra (*nāga*). Right and left of the arch are the attributes of Viṣṇu, the discus (*cakra*) and conch (*śaṅkha*).

Copper. Southern India. Seventeenth century(?)

Height, .208 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LIX.

21.1289. Head of a bull or cow, with bells and forehead ornament.

Copper. Southern India. Seventeenth century (?)

Dimensions, .062 × .026 × .026 m.

The head and neck are hollow, the neck showing nail holes for attachment. The small circular opening in front of the mouth suggests that this may be a *gau-mukha* ('cow-face') used as a water spout, the stream of water from which may have been directed upon a *liṅgam*.

The object might otherwise be regarded as the end piece of a palanquin (*kavadi*) pole (though really too small for this purpose), like the example figured by Hadaway in *Illustrations of metal work in brass and copper, mostly South Indian*, Madras, 1913, fig. 165.

21.1834. Temple niche-lamp; cup shaped, with lip, on a pedestal; with screen behind, flanked by two standing figures holding smaller lamps of similar form. The screen bears in relief, both back and front, Gaja Lakṣmī. On the front, Lakṣmī is seated at ease (*sukhāsana*) on a *bhadrāpīṭha* seat, the two normal hands in *varada* and *abhaya* pose, the two upper holding lotus flowers, the upper parts of which touch the ends of the elephants' trunks and may be regarded as the golden water jars held in their trunks (the

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scene representing the lustration of Śrī on the occasion of her birth at the Churning of the Ocean): above her head, a *kīrti-mukha*, with floriated streamers, above this a *liṅgam-yoni* symbol?, and above this a lotus. The outer edge of the *torāṇa* with rows of *hamsas* in place of flames. On the back, a similar composition, but Lakṣmī is seated in *vīrāsana*, and the *kīrti-mukha* is lacking and is replaced by a trident (the *triśūla* of Śiva?). The two figures flanking the screen are of the Dīpa Lakṣmī form, and may be donors represented as holding a perpetual light before the deity. The pedestal is supported by a framework, and in front by a drummer, at the sides by elephants, at the back by a four-armed Lakṣmī. The lamp appears to be of Śaiva usage (to judge from the *liṅgam-yoni* and *triśūla*. The Gaja Lakṣmī composition although nominally Vaiṣṇava has a generally auspicious value and is by no means restricted to Vaiṣṇava use.

Copper. Southern India. Fourteenth to sixteenth century.

Dimensions, .176 × .131 × .152 m. From the Beardsell Collection. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Cf. Gangoly, O. C., *South Indian lamps*, Burlington Magazine, July, 1916, and Journal of Indian Art, no. 136, 1916.

PLATE LXXI.

11.61. Temple niche-lamp, similar to 21.1834. Screen with Gaja Lakṣmī obverse and reverse, *kīrti-mukha* above, and Dīpa Lakṣmī figures at sides. Base without figures at front or sides, but with two female figures forming a handle at the back.

Bronze. Southern India. Eighteenth century.

Height, .146 m. Ross Collection.

83.116. Dīpa Lakṣmī lamp, female figure with a parrot on the shoulder, holding a cup-shaped lamp: high lotus pedestal on square base.

Brass. Southern Indian. Late nineteenth century.

Height, .203 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

21.1311. *Hamsa* (Tam. *anna paḍḍi*), on a screw base, originally the finial of a lamp.

Brass. Southern India. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .120 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

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For examples of similar ornaments as used on temple lamps see Hadaway, W. S., *Illustrations of metal work in brass and copper, mostly South Indian*, Madras, 1913, figs. 128, 139, 137.

PLATE LXXI.

21.1318. *Sarja anna paḍci* (Tam.), a bird with a dragon's or lion's head, originally part of a metal ornament, perhaps a lamp, in the great temple at Madura.

Copper gilt. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Length, .2 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Published: Hadaway, W. S., *Illustrations of metal work in brass and copper, mostly South Indian*, fig. 186. The head can scarcely be considered a lion's on account of the pronounced beak. The Tamil name of this form, which is the same as that of the Sinhalese *Serapendiya* (see Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mediæval Sinhalese art*, p. 83 and figs. 12, 81), shows that it is regarded as a *hamsa* with a *sarja* head.

PLATE LXXI.

17.1317. Comb, with two prongs: handle composed of a female figure holding scrolls.

Brass. Southern India. Late nineteenth century.

Length, .235 m. Ross Collection.

17.1316. Comb, with two prongs, formed by the two horns of a springing antelope, of which the body constitutes the handle.

Brass. Southern India. Nineteenth century.

Length, .23 m. Ross Collection.

83.120. Comb, with three long prongs, the handle consisting of a female figure, representing Rati, with four parrots. Used to support the end of the tress while combing.

Brass. Southern India. Nineteenth century.

Length, .202 m. Gift of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

21.1478. Fragment of wood carving, two lions rampant addorsed: painted red.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

SCULPTURE

Dimensions, .145 × .125 × .033 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1470. Perforated window, the design composed of four pairs of affronted dragon-headed birds (*sarja anna padçi*) 'statant regardant.'

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .45 × .35 × .03 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

For the dragon-headed bird, v.s. M. F. A. 21.1318, p. 122.

PLATE LV.

21.1473. Four-way capital of a pillar, in two parts, with floral pendants. The pendants with parrots at each corner.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .386 × .385 × .126 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1474. Four-way capital of a pillar, in two parts, with floral pendants.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .389 × .376 × .107 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1475, a and b. Four-way capital of a pillar, in two parts, with floral pendants.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .430 × .445 × .45 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1477. Single pendant from a four-way capital, like M. F. A. 21.1473.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .165 × .112 × .145 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

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21.1471. Pilaster, with bracket near the top, elaborately carved; the bracket angle with a dancing female figure.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Height, 2.11 m. Shaft, $.067 \times .072$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, August 4, 1921.

21.1473. Pilaster, with bracket near the top, elaborately carved. Female figure missing from the bracket angle.

Wood. Madras, from Comte de Lally's house. Early eighteenth century.

Height, 2.1 m. Shaft, $.06 \times .072$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, August 4, 1921.

21.1838. Bracket from a temple car: rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with long spear, and sword. Below, three attendants on each side with insignia and weapons.

Wood. Madura. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, $.765 \times .097 \times .385$ m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXXII.

21.1840. Bracket, probably part of a temple car, consisting of a Yāli, more precisely a Gaja Simha, rampant above a smaller elephant, the two trunks linked.

Wood. Madura. Seventeenth century (?)

Dimensions, $.98 \times .11 \times .225$ m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXXIII.

21.1491. Bracket, from a temple car: Yāli, a lion rampant, with a floral pendant proceeding from the open mouth.

Wood. Rāmeśvaram. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, $.30 \times .077 \times .165$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1492. Bracket, from a temple car: Yāli, a lion rampant, with a floral pendant proceeding from the open mouth.

Wood. Rāmeśvaram. Eighteenth to nineteenth century (?)

Dimensions, $.295 \times .073 \times .164$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

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21.1488. Bracket from a temple car: Yāli, a lion rampant, with a floral pendant proceeding from the open mouth.

Wood. Rāmeśvaram. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, $.495 \times .072 \times .210$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXXIII.

21.1489. Bracket from a temple car: Yāli, a lion rampant, with a floral pendant proceeding from the open mouth. Hind legs broken.

Wood. Rāmeśvaram. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, $.495 \times .086 \times .119$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1490. Bracket from a temple car: Yāli, a lion rampant, with a floral pendant proceeding from the open mouth.

Wood. Rāmeśvaram. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Dimensions, $.550 \times .115 \times .207$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1499. Bracket from a temple car: Yāli, a lion rampant.

Wood. Rāmeśvaram. Eighteenth to early nineteenth century (?)

Dimensions, $.765 \times .110 \times .170$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1500. Part of a temple car, a Yāli, or more precisely Gaja Sirṁha, a lion with the trunk of an elephant, rampant.

Wood. Rāmeśvaram. Nineteenth century.

Dimensions, $.735 \times .102 \times .215$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXXIV.

21.1479. Bracket from a temple car: rearing horse with rider on each side, respectively with long spear and short sword. Two attendants below, on one side also a dog. Much ant-eaten.

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, $.420 \times .07 \times .190$ m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

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21.1480. Bracket from a temple car, a rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with a sword and short spear, two attendants on each side, a fifth in front supporting the forelegs of the horse: below the base, a pendant, a parrot '*regardant*.' The parrot partly broken.

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .445 × .153 × .115 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. Like M. F. A. 21.1481-3, 1486, 1487, 1496, 1497.

21.1841. Bracket from a temple car, a rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with a sword and short spear, two attendants on each side, a fifth in front supporting the forelegs of the horse: below the base, a pendant, a parrot '*regardant*.' The parrot partly broken away.

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .515 × .060 × .145 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. Like M. F. A. 21.1480, 1483, 1486, 1487, 1496, 1497.

21.1482. Bracket from a temple car, a rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with a sword and short spear, two attendants on each side, a fifth in front supporting the forelegs of the horse: below the base, a pendant, a parrot '*regardant*.'

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .535 × .060 × .140 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. Like M. F. A. 21.1481, 1483, 1486, 1487, 1496, 1497.

PLATE LXXIII.

21.1483. Bracket from a temple car, a rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with short spear and dagger: two attendants on each side and one in front holding a cord attached to the collar of the horse. Three of the attendants wear a kind of 'frock coat.'

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .65 × .55 × .125 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. Like M. F. A. 21.1480-3, 1486, 1487, 1496, 1497.

PLATE LXXIII.

21.1485. Bracket, a rearing horse, half *affronté*, with a rider on each side. The rider on one side with a long spear thrusting at a panther below: on this side three, on the other, four attendant figures; of these the two fore-

SCULPTURE

most are plunging daggers (*kaṭāra*) into the panther's belly. Below the lotus petal moulding a floral pendant issuing from the mouth of a *makara* and terminating in a pine-apple form. Most of the figures wear coats and trousers, and turbans, showing, perhaps, Mughal or Marāṭhā influence.

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .95 × .18 × .28 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXXV.

21.1486. Bracket from a temple car, a rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with a sword and short spear, two attendants on each side, a fifth in front supporting the forelegs of the horse: below the base, a pendant, a parrot '*regardant*.'

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .575 × .060 × .145 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. Like M. F. A. 21.1480-3, 1487, 1496, 1497.

21.1487. Bracket from a temple car, a rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with a sword and short spear, two attendants on each side, a fifth in front supporting the forelegs of the horse: below the base, a pendant, a parrot '*regardant*.'

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .56 × .056 × .140 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. Like M. F. A. 31.1481-3, 1486, 1487, 1496, 1497.

21.1496. Bracket from a temple car, a rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with a sword and short spear, two attendants on each side, a fifth in front supporting the forelegs of the horse: below the base, a pendant, a parrot '*regardant*.' The parrot partly broken.

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .415 × .056 × .115 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. Like M. F. A. 21.1480-3, 1486, 1487, 1497.

21.1497. Bracket from a temple car, a rearing horse with a rider on each side, respectively with a sword and short spear, two attendants on each side, a fifth in front supporting the forelegs of the horse: below the base, a pendant, a parrot '*regardant*.' The parrot partly broken.

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Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .450 × .050 × .115 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921. Like M. F. A. 21.1480–3, 1486, 1487, 1496.

21.1493. Bracket from a temple car: inner side with a parrot '*regardant*.' Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .782 × .75 × .23 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXXIV.

21.1495. Bracket from a temple car, inner side with a parrot, '*regardant*.' Head of parrot broken.

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.



19.1441

Dimensions, .737 × .057 × .185 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1494. Bracket from a temple car, inner side with a parrot '*regardant*.'

Wood. Tirupati. Seventeenth to eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .78 × .053 × .178 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

19.1441. Two parrots, fragment of architectural ornament. Carved brick, partly covered with stucco.

Height, .265 m. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

No information is available regarding the source of this object, which has been in the Museum of Fine Arts for many years.

21.1498. Portion of architectural woodwork, perhaps a bracket, carved below in high relief with the figure of a seated Nāginī, the five hoods of the cobra rising above her head: above this a curved extension. The nāginī

SCULPTURE

wears a *dhotī*, and crown, earrings, necklace, *channavīra*, anklets, etc. Much weathered and ant-eaten.

Wood. Travancore. Sixteenth to seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .822 × .158 × .125 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXXII.

BRĀHMANICAL, NEPAL

Kṛṣṇa

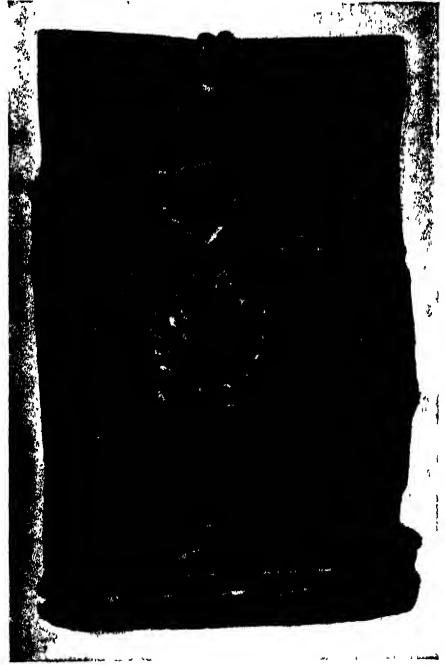
17.2324. Kṛṣṇa Bāṁsīdhara or Veṇugopāla: standing figure with the flute, four-armed, accompanied by Rādhā. Two hands are occupied with the tasseled flute, another holds the discus (*cakra*), the fourth the lotus (?), at the same time embracing Rādhā's waist. Kṛṣṇa wears a tiara with five points,¹ sacred thread, *dhotī*, and garland (*vanamālā*). Rādhā in a dancing pose, with one hand raised: she wears a bodice (*colī*) and skirt (*ghagra*). Garuḍa in adoration at Kṛṣṇa's feet.

Like many Rajput paintings, but more hieratic. Cf. M. F. A. 17.2336.

Copper *repoussé* in high relief, gilt, probably part of a larger composition. Nepal. Sixteenth century.

Dimensions, .085 × .054 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Rajput painting*, pl. LXXVII, and Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95.



17.2324

¹ Crowns or diadems of this type (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*, rather than *mukuṣa*) are represented in the earlier Rajput paintings; in the later Rajput paintings royal personages usually wear a turban. An allusion to the change from diadem to turban will be found in Meyer, *Hindu tales* (transl. by Jacobi, *Ausgewählte Erzählungen in Māhārāstrī*), London, 1909, p. 111 . . . "From that time on kings were invested with the turban; before this they were invested with the diadem." Cf. also *Jātaka*, Vol. VI, pp. 369, 370, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, XIII.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

BUDDHIST, CEYLON

99.57. Gautama Buddha: seated in *dhyāna mudrā* ("seal of contemplation"), upon the coils of the *nāga* Mucalinda, and sheltered by his expanded hood.

Ivory, with remains of painting. Ceylon. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Height, .15 m. Bequest of Henry C. Warren.

17.1424. Eaves tile, obverse with lion, reverse with *hamsa* (goose). Upper portion broken away, leaving the decorated part which hangs vertically. The lion directly moulded by pressure, the *hamsa* applied behind, with a hollow space between: a small hole in the body of the *hamsa*, permitting expansion of the air during firing.

Earthenware. Kandyan Sinhalese. Eighteenth century.

Dimensions, .165 × .182 m. Gift of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mediæval Sinhalese art*, pl. xxxvi, figs. 1, 2, and p. 224.

PLATE LXXVI.

17.1425. Eaves tile, obverse with lion (painted with red slip), reverse with *hamsa* (goose). Upper portion broken away, leaving the decorated part which hangs vertically. Entirely moulded by pressure between two moulds.

Earthenware. Kandyan Sinhalese. Eighteenth century.

Gift of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Published, Coomaraswamy, *Mediæval Sinhalese art*, p. 224, fig. 136, b.

PLATE LXXVI.

01.6737. Panel, or comb (lacking the teeth): three compartments, carved in relief and pierced, in the centre a goddess holding flower sprays (*sīna-mala type*), to r. and l. standing birds.

Dimensions, .104 × .057 m. Ivory.

South Indian or Ceylon. Eighteenth century.

Bequest of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

01.6738. Panel, or comb, like 01.6737.

Dimensions, .104 × .057 m. Ivory.

South Indian or Ceylon. Eighteenth century.

Bequest of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

SCULPTURE

01.6739. Comb, lacking the teeth (*panā kaṭuwa*); carved in relief and pierced, with a dancing girl or *apsaras*, within borders of *kunḍirakkan* and *arimbuwa* design.

Width, .091 m. Ivory.

Ceylon (Kandyan). Eighteenth century.

Bequest of Mrs. Arthur Croft.

Cf. Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mediæval Sinhalese art*, pl. xxix and pp. 107, 109, 185, 332.

21.1722. Pillar, from a *maṇḍapam* or *ambalam*. Base (*āsana-kaḍa*) square in section, followed by a chamfered segment, the central cube with lotus ornaments, the next segment again chamfered, the upper parts again square in section, with *geṭa liya pota* ornament. *Nāga-bandha* motifs above the base and below the upper segment.

Wood. Ceylon. Eighteenth century. Kandyan Sinhalese, Peradeniya-Gampola district.

Dimensions, $2.978 \times .18 \times .18$ m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Like Bell, H. C. P., *Report on the Kegalla district*, Colombo, 1904, pl. facing p. 22. Exhibited with M. F. A. 22.351.

PLATE LXXV.

22.351. Part (one-fourth) of a four-way capital (*pe-kaḍa*) of a wooden pillar, consisting of a floral pendant (*gonēs*).

Dimensions, $.265 \times .195 \times .154$ m. Gift of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy.

Like Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Mediæval Sinhalese art*, 1908, pl. x, figs. 4 and 5. Exhibited with M. F. A. 21.1722.

PLATE LXXV.

BUDDHIST, NEPAL

11.13150. Avalokiteśvara: seated in easy posture (*lalitāsana*) on lotus throne, one foot pendent resting on a small lotus, the right hand in *varada mudrā* ("seal of charity"), the left with lotus stalk (the flower being broken away), the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha in the headdress.

Brass with black patina. Jewelled, but the jewels now missing, except two pieces of turquoise (?). Nepal. Fifteenth to sixteenth century.

Height, .115 m. Bigelow Collection.

PLATE LXXVII.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

17.2321. Mārīcī? female figure with eight arms and nine heads, of which one only is human, the others including the monkey, sow, bear, horse, elephant, *makara* and *garuḍa* (of which the sow and bear are especially characteristic for Mārīcī). The foremost hands hold the *vajra* and skull cup (*kapāla*); other attributes and *mudrās* no longer distinguishable. Dancing pose, the right foot raised and both knees bent, probably originally with pedestal representing a corpse. Two skull-garlands in addition to the usual costume and jewellery. Rough and unfinished casting.

Copper. Nepal. Sixteenth century (?)

Height, .07 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

For Mārīcī, see Foucher, A., *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, tome I, 1900, p. 146 and fig. 27, and tome II, 1905, p. 86 and fig. 6: Grünwedel, A., *Mythologie du Buddhisme au Tibet et en Mongolie*, Paris, 1900, pp. 147, 148 and fig. 118: Getty, A., *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1914, pp. 117–119. Also under M. F. A. 17.1015, *supra*.

PLATE LXXVII.

17.2323. Buddhist personage, perhaps a Bodhisattva, right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā* ("do not fear").

Copper *repoussé* in extremely high relief, gilt, part of a larger composition. Nepal. Sixteenth century.

Height, .247 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXXIV.

17.2320. Tārā: seated female divinity, with right leg pendent, the left crossed above the knee; hands as if in *varada* and *abhaya mudrā* ("seal of charity" and "do not fear"), but the thumbs and forefingers touching as in *vyākhyāna* or *cin mudrā*. The right foot missing. Oval nimbus, jewelled tiara, earrings, necklaces, armlets, bracelets, girdle and anklets: narrow shawl and striped *dhotī*, the upper part of the body bare. Remains of colour on head and lips.

Tooled copper gilt. Nepal. Seventeenth century.

Height, .164 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Probably Khadiravaṇī Tārā, a form of the yellow Tārā: see Getty, A., *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, p. 110.

PLATE LXXVIII.

SCULPTURE

17.1096. Tārā: standing female figure, the right hand in *varada mudrā* (charity), the left with an expanded blue lotus (*utpala*). Lotus pedestal (*padma-pīṭha*).

Copper, gilt and jewelled with turquoise. Nepal. Twelfth to fourteenth century.

Height, .140 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95.

PLATE LXXVIII.

17.2318. Vajra-Tārā: female divinity, four-faced (*caturvaktrā*) and eight-armed (*aṣṭabāhu*), seated in *padmāsana*. Elaborate jewelled head-dress supporting a *vajra*. The two anterior hands with *vajra* and water lily (*nīlotpala*), two others with conch (*śaṅkha*) and noose (*pāśa*). Attributes (including arrow, bow, and elephant goad) usually held by the other hands now missing. Earrings, necklace, armlets, bracelets: a flowered *dhotī*, the upper part of the body nude. Curling locks falling on the shoulders, the hair with remains of black pigment. Aquiline features and sweet expression, the flesh well modelled.

Copper gilt. Nepal. Fifteenth century.

Height, .124 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Compare M. F. A. 17.2334, and Getty, A., *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, 1914, p. 110; Sahni, D. R., *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sārṇāth*, 1914, p. 143; Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Viśvakarmā*, 1914, pl. vi (wrongly identified as Uṣṇīṣa-vijayā): Foucher, A., *L'Iconographie bouddhique l'Inde*, tome II, 1905, p. 70.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Burlington Magazine, Vol. XXVII. Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 95.

PLATE LXXVIII.

17.2326. Seven petals of a lotus, forming part of a shrine of a Vajra-Tārā, or Padmanarteśvara-Lokeśvara (Avalokiteśvara) *Maṇḍala*. The shrine originally consisted of eight petals (*dala*), arranged to open and close at will over the contained figure. Each petal with a feminine divinity seated on an animal *vāhanam*.

Copper. Nepal. Twelfth to fourteenth century.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

Length of each petal, 0.105 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Like the fine example, "*d'origine probablement népalaise*" in the Calcutta Museum, illustrated by Foucher, A., *L'Iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, tome II, 1905, p. 70 and fig. 5. For Padmanarteśvara see the same, p. 37. The Calcutta example is also illustrated in Coomaraswamy, A. K., *Arts and crafts of India and Ceylon*, fig. 101. The divinities represented on the lotus petals should be, for a Padmanarteśvara shrine, Vilokinī, Tārā, Bhuriṇī, Bhṛkuṭi, Padmavāsini, Vajrapadmeśvarī, Viśvapadma, and Viśvavajra: or for a Vajra-Tārā shrine, the Four Tārās "of the flower," "of the incense," "of the lamp," and "of the perfume," with the Four Yoginī, Vajrāṅkuṣī, Vajrapāśī, Vajrasphoṭī, and Vajraghaṇṭā.

PLATE LXXVIII.

17.2345. Seated female figure probably representing a donor: the hands in *abhaya* and *varada mudrā* ("charity" and "do not fear"). Much worn by the application of *tilak*.

Brass. Nepal (?) Fifteenth to sixteenth century.

Height, 0.071 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXIX.

21.1668. Oval plaque, a *stūpa*, supported by expanded lotus and lion throne. The body of the *stūpa* in four stages, the tee in twelve tiers, surmounted by a *chattra*, with ribbons. Inscription. Buddhist creed. *Ye dharmā*, etc., in Nāgarī characters.

Baked clay. Nepal? Fifteenth century (?)

Dimensions, .103 × .093 × .034 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE XXXIX.

17.2325. Four-armed female Buddhist divinity, perhaps a *Vidyādhara*: appearing from a cloud. The two upper hands with knife (*kartrī*), and skull cup (*kapāla*), the two forward hands holding a garland.

Copper gilt *repoussé* in rather high relief. Nepal or perhaps Tibet, sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .149 × .085 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXXVII.

17.2360. *Varaṇa-dala* for the worship of Śiva: a bull (Nandi) supporting a shallow circular tray with crenated edges.

SCULPTURE

Bronze. Nepal. Sixteenth century (?)

Height, .237 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

17.2327. Rat: probably the lower part of a *varaṇa-dala* for the worship of Gaṇapati; part of a ritual object, the remainder of which, the rod rising from the neck immediately above the collar originally supporting a dish or tray, as in M. F. A. 17.2360.

Copper. Nepal. Fifteenth to sixteenth century.

Length, .133 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy collection.

PLATE LXXIX.

BUDDHIST, NEPAL OR TIBET

11.13151. Gautama Buddha seated in *padmāsana* on lotus pedestal, the hands in *dharma-cakra mudrā* ("seal of turning the wheel of the law").

Copper gilt. Nepal or Tibet. Eighteenth century.

Height, .124 m. Bigelow Collection.

PLATE LXXX.

11.13152. Siddhārtha Bodhisattva (Gautama Buddha) seated in *padmāsana* on lotus pedestal, the hand in *bhūmisparśa mudrā* ("seal of calling the earth to witness"). This hollow image had already been opened, but still contained three MSS., being *dhāraṇīs* in Tibetan character.

Copper gilt. Nepal or Tibet. Seventeenth century.

Height, .13 m. Bigelow Collection.

Plate LXXX.

08.178. Amitāyus, the Dhyāni Buddha of Eternal Life: seated in *padmāsana*, on a lotus throne, the hands in *dhyāni mudrā*, the hair painted blue and dressed in a high top knot over the *uṣṇīṣa*, with long locks falling on the shoulders, the *ūrṇā*, also indicated: wearing *dhotī*, and shawl, turquoise jewelled earrings, necklace and bracelets. The ambrosia (*amṛta*) vase is missing, but a mark on the hands shows that it has been broken away. A glory (*prabhāmaṇḍala*) is also missing, but the socket is to be seen behind the figure.

Copper, originally gilt, the face regilt more recently. Nepal, or perhaps Tibet. About the fifteenth century.

Height, .172 m. Gift by special contribution.

PLATE LXXX.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

11.13154. Simhanāda-Avalokiteśvara (-Lokeśvara), "Avalokiteśvara with the voice of a lion": seated in *mahārājalīlā āsana*, without attributes, on a lotus throne, the hair painted blue and dressed in a high top knot over the *uṣṇīṣa*, with locks falling on the shoulders, no *ūrṇā*; wearing a striped under garment and a plain shorter *dhotī* over it, earrings, necklace, amulets, bracelets, girdle and antelope skin over the left shoulder.

Brass. Nepal, or perhaps Tibet. About the sixteenth century.

Height, .176 m. Bigelow Collection.

PLATE LXXX.

17.2322. Dharmapāla, or perhaps Mahākāla: male figure with ten heads and sixteen arms seated in *yogāsana* on a corpse supported by a lotus. The forward right hand holds a skull cup (*kapāla*), the forward left is in a *mudrā* perhaps intended as *vyākhyāna* (exposition): the second right and left hands are in *varada* and *abhaya mudrā* ("seals" of "charity" and "do not fear"); the remaining right hands hold an axe (*taṅka*), rosary (*akṣamālā*), trident (*triśūla*) and sword (*khaḍga*), the left hands various attributes not recognizable, and the mace (*gadā*) and discus (*cakra*). Usual costume and jewellery.

Copper. Nepal or Tibet. Fifteenth to sixteenth century.

Height, .119 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

Grünwedel, *loc. cit.*, fig. 150 shows a simpler form of Mahākāla, with the sword, skull cup, and trident as characteristic attributes.

Mahākāla is primarily the guardian of wisdom and particularly of grammar.

PLATE LXXVII.

BUDDHIST, FURTHER INDIA AND INDONESIA

21.2172. Head of Buddha; *uṣṇīṣa* conspicuous, surmounted by a flame rising from a four-petalled flower.

Thin copper casting over earthy core. Siam. Ayuthia period, fifteenth century?

Height, .163 m. Ross Collection.

Gift of Dr. Denman W. Ross, October 6, 1921.

PLATE LXXXII.

SCULPTURE

21.1071. Head of Buddha: *uṣṇīṣa* surmounted by a pointed flame, no *ūrṇā*.

Grey stone with remains of lacquer and gilding. Further India. Fifteenth to seventeenth century (?)

Height, .206 m. Bigelow Collection.

PLATE LXXII.

19.800. Head of Buddha: backed by the expanded hoods of the seven-headed *nāga*, *Mucalinda*. A spiral mark in place of the *ūrṇā*, the *uṣṇīṣa* conical.

Sandstone. Cambodian (Khmer). Fourteenth century (or earlier?).

Dimensions, .23 × .212 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 106. Cf. Coedès, G., *Cat. des pièces . . . de sculpture khmère . . . au Trocadéro et au Musée Guimet*, Bull. Comm. Arch. de l'Indo-Chine, 1910, pl. III.

PLATE LXXXV.

17.1106. Standing figure of Gautama (?) Buddha: both hands in *abhaya mudrā*.

Bronze gilt. Siamese. Fifteenth to sixteenth century (late Ayuthia period).

Height, .95 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 106.

PLATE LXXXI.

21.1076. Gautama Buddha, seated in *padmāsana* in the coils of the *nāga* *mucalinda*, and sheltered by its seven expanded hoods. The robe covering one shoulder only. The *uṣṇīṣa* is conspicuous, there is no *ūrṇā*, and heavy earrings are worn. The features somewhat of the Khmer type.

Grey stone painted black and red. Further India. Fifteenth to sixteenth century?

Height, .37 m. Ross Collection.

Cf. Parmentier, H., *Inventaire descriptif des monuments çams de l'Annam*, fig. 133. (Musée de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.)

PLATE LXXXII.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

21.1501. Buddha, standing figure on pedestal: r. h. holding robe, l. h. missing.

Gilt lacquered wood. Siam (or Burma). Eighteenth century (?)
Height, .668 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

21.1502. Buddha, standing figure on pedestal: l. h. holding robe, r. h. missing.

Gilt lacquered wood. Siam (or Burma). Eighteenth century (?)
Height, .668 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.
PLATE LXXXIII.

21.1503. Buddha, standing figure: both hands missing. On high pedestal of four elaborated decorated tiers.

Gilt lacquered wood. Siam (or Burma). Eighteenth century (?)
Height, .542 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.
PLATE LXXXIII.

17.838. Gautama Buddha, head and torso of standing figure. Arms and all below the waist missing.

Gilt lacquered bronze. Siamese or Burmese. Sixteenth to seventeenth century.

Height, .803 m. Ross Collection.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 106.

PLATE LXXXI.

91.1. Siddhārtha Bodhisattva (Gautama Buddha), seated in *bhūmi-sparśa mudrā* (seal of "calling the earth to witness"). *Uṣṇīṣa* conspicuous.

Brass casting. Burmese. Nineteenth century.

Height, .639 m. Bigelow Collection.

06.363. Gautama Buddha: reclining (*Parinirvāṇa*).

Moulded gilt lacquer. Burmese. Eighteenth to nineteenth century.

Length, 1.175 m. Estate of Alfred Greenough, bequest of Charles H. Parker.

21.1518. Siddhārtha Bodhisattva (Gautama Buddha), seated in *bhūmi-sparśa mudrā*, on pedestal: with flaming nimbus.

SCULPTURE

Soft grey shale. Burma. Eighteenth century (?)

Height, .27 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

PLATE LXXXII.

21.264. Avalokiteśvara: standing figure, r. h. in *vyākhyāna mudrā*, l. h. in *varada*. The hair dressed high, and having upon it a figure of the seated Buddha Amitābha. *Ūrṇā* on brow. Costume, a long sarong, and sash: jewellery, tiara (*uṣṇīṣa bhuṣaṇa*), earrings, necklaces, amulets, bracelets, belt (*udara bandha*). Has been lacquered, the lacquer partly removed. Fractured and repaired.

Bronze. Further India (Siam?). Ayuthia period.

Height, .465 m. (excluding supports below feet). Marianne Brimmer Fund.

PLATE LXXXIV.

19.691. Standing figure of a Buddhist personage, perhaps Dīpaṅkara Buddha. In monastic robes, but with crown and earrings; the right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā*, the left pendent. The feet and part of the robe and the flame proceeding from the *uṣṇīṣa* broken away.

Bronze. Siamese. Twelfth to fourteenth century (late Sukothai-Savankalok period).

Height, .374 m. Wetzel Collection.

Cf. Fournereau, L., *Le Siam ancien*, Paris, 1905–08, Vol. I, pl. xxxi.

Published: Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 106.

PLATE LXXXI.

17.837. Buddhist head, fragment: with crown and earrings.

Thin cast bronze, the core still in place, with rich bronze brown patina, and reddish and green spots. The whites of the eyes of inlaid mother-of-pearl, the pupils missing.

Bronze. Siamese. Fifteenth century (early Ayuthia period).

Height, .327 m. Ross Collection.

Published, Coomaraswamy, A. K., Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 106.

PLATE LXXXI.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

17.1008. Thick tile or brick moulded in high relief, with greenish glaze: illustrating the *Muga-pakkha Jātaka*. With inscription in Burmese. Terra cotta. Burmese. Twelfth to thirteenth century.

Dimensions, .328 × .275 × .073 m. Ross Collection.

The inscription, read by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, reads *Temī kuiw nat samil chumma i*, i.e. "the goddess instructs Temi." The plaque accordingly refers to an episode of the *Muga-pakkha Jātaka* (no. 538 of Fausboll's edition; trans. Cowell, no. 538).

The Bodhisattva was reborn as the son of the king of Benares; when he was a month old, while in his father's arms, four thieves were brought in, whom the king condemned to terrible punishments. The Bodhisattva was terrified at the idea that to be born on the steps of a throne was equivalent to being placed on the direct way to Hell, owing to the sentences which the king is obliged to pass on criminals; and thus, while on his bed, under a white umbrella, he regrets having been born a prince. Then the goddess who dwelt in the umbrella instructed him how to avoid becoming a king, advising him to make it appear that he was an idiot and a cripple. The giving of this advice is illustrated in the relief.

Probably from the Maṅgalaceti (built about 1200 A.D.) or Dhammarājika (built 1241 A.D.) pagoda; the plaques from these buildings are in a similar style and have in the same way their inscriptions in Pāli and Burmese, followed by the number of the Jātaka. The fact that, of the two similar tiles in the Museum collection, one has the inscription entirely in Burmese, the other partly in Pāli, and that the tiles are of different sizes, may show that the two are not from one and the same series. Plaques from the Pagan Schwezigon and Ānanda series have the inscriptions entirely in Pāli and placed above the relief.

Tiles of this kind illustrating Jātaka subjects have been found in large numbers at Pagan in Burma: none can be earlier than 1057 A.D., as they follow the Sinhalese tradition which was not known in Pagan before that date (Duroiselle, C., *Pictorial representations of Jatakas in Burma*, Arch. Sur. India, Ann. Rep., 1912-13, Calcutta, 1916, pp. 87 ff., and Taw Sein Ko, *Plaques found at the Petleik pagoda, Pagan, ibid.*, 1906-07, Calcutta, 1909, pp. 126 ff.).

See also Grünwedel, A., *Glasüren aus Pagan*, Veröffentlichungen aus

SCULPTURE

dem königlichen Museum für Völkerkunde (Berlin), 1917; Huber, E., *Les bas-reliefs du temple d'Ananda à Pagan*, Bull. de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. XI, Hanoi, 1911; Laufer, B., *Neue Materialien und studien zur buddhistischen kunst*, Globus, Vol. LXXIII, 1898, pp. 27-32; and Marshall, J. H., in Arch. Surv. India, Ann. Rep., 1913-14, pt. 1, pp. 25, 26 and pl. xxiii, b-d.

See below, 17.1009.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 98.

PLATE LXXXII.

17.1009. Thick tile or brick, moulded in high relief, with greenish glaze: illustrating the *Bhadda-sala Jātaka*. With inscription in Pāli and Burmese.

Terra cotta. Burmese. Twelfth to thirteenth century.

Dimensions, .315 × 0.276 × .063 m. Ross Collection.

The inscription, deciphered by Mr. Taw Sein Ko, reads *Bhadda-sala jat sacpan nat 465* (the first three words Pāli, the last two Burmese), i.e. "Bhaddasala Jātaka (the Bodhisattva is), a tree sprite, 465." The *Bhadda-sala Jātaka* is no. 465 of Fausboll's edition, and Cowell's translation.

The Bodhisattva was reborn as a tree sprite in the park of the king of Benares. The king reflected that in India every king has a many-pillared palace; it would be far more extraordinary to have a palace supported by a single pillar. Accordingly the carpenters selected a tree; and chose the one in which the Bodhisattva resided, because it was the largest they could find. The Bodhisattva, however, visited the palace, and interviewed the king (this is the subject of the relief); he was willing to be sacrificed himself, but pleaded the case of the younger trees which would be broken by his fall, unless he should be felled piecemeal. Touched by this magnanimity, the king desisted from his plan.

See above 17.1008.

Published: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, no. 98.

PLATE LXXXII.

21.1314. Weight, consisting of a *hamsa* or sacred goose, on a hexagonal pedestal.

Bronze. Burma. Eighteenth century (?)

Dimensions, .044 × .025 × .025 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

JAINA, INDIA PROPER

17.2332. Pārśvanātha seated in *padmāsana*, the hands in *yoga mudrā*, upon a cushion, which rests on a lion throne (*śirṃhāsana*), covered by a cloth, of which one corner hangs between the two lions which support the throne; on this flap the cognizance (*cihna*) of the Jina may have been engraved, but is now defaced. Right and left of the throne are seated male and female figures (Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī) and above these, right and left of the seated Jina are standing figures of attendants with fly whisks (*cāmara*). Above the Jina's head and in one piece with the *prabhā-toraṇa* rises the canopy of a seven-hooded cobra, the Nāga Dharaṇendra, the central hood surmounted by a *chattra*. The perforated portion of the *toraṇa* shows a pair of flying figures representing *Vidyādhara*s with garlands, and above these a pair of elephants, the latter kneeling right and left of the aforesaid *chattra*. The plain portion of the *toraṇa* is surmounted by a *caitya* placed immediately above the *chattra*. The pedestal is perforated. The cushion is decorated with lozenges of inlaid silver and copper; the eyes of the Jina and mark on the chest inlaid silver. Reverse with dated Prākṛit inscription.

Brass. Dated = A.D. 1329. North Indian, probably Rājputāna.

Height, .131 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The inscription in Nandināgarī characters reads:

Sam(vat) 1386 vaiśākha vadi 11 some prā(gvāṭa) śre(ṣṭhi) jāmjaṇam bhāryā hāsala śre(ṣṭhi) suna dedā kena bimbam kā(ritam) pratiṣṭ(h)itam sad gurubhiḥ.

“(This) image was made for Seth Sona (son of?) Hāsala the wife of Seth Jāmjaṇam of the Prāgvāṭa community, and consecrated by the holy elders, in the year Samvat 1386, on Monday, the 11th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha.”

PLATE LXXXVI.

21.1422. Pārśvanātha, seated in *yogāsana*, sheltered by the hoods of a seven-hooded cobra: the pedestal with a dated inscription. The eyes inlaid with rubies, the body jewelled with forty-three others, of which some are now missing: the *tilaka* in silver.

Brass. Dated Samvat 1510 = 1453 A.D.

SCULPTURE

Height, .105 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Inscription:

Samvat 1510 varṣe mārgraśīrṣe sudi
10 ravivāsare śrī kaṣṭhā saṃghe bha(ṭṭāraka)
śrī kamala kīrtti devā sta
dāsrāya (?) . . .
sāh(āyakā) cāhā tasya putra padmā bhā(ryā)
vāso (?) tasya putra hārā . . . te
pra(tiṣṭhitam) (?).

to the effect that the image was dedicated by the respected Śrī Kamala Kīrtti Devā of the Kaṣṭhā congregation (of the Digambaras) in company with Cāhā, the latter's son Padmā, and the latter's wife Vāsu and son Hārā, on Sunday the tenth day of the light fortnight of Mārgraśīrṣa, Samvat 1510 (= 1453 A.D.).

There is a similarly jewelled marble figure in the Bālabhai temple, Śatruñjāya (M. F. A. photo 55320).

PLATE LXXVI.

21.1423. Pārśvanātha, seated in *yogāsana*, sheltered by the hoods of a seven-headed nāga, between two standing figures of nāgas in human form with single cobra hoods: these figures form part of the *torana*, from which the figure of Pārśvanātha is almost detached. Cobra cognizance (*cihna*) on pedestal. With inscription dated.

Brass. Gujarāt? Dated = 1566 A.D.

Dimensions, .072 × .047 × .023 m. Marianne Brimmer Fund.

Inscription:

Sam(vat) 1623 varṣe āṣāḍha sudi
bhaimi pāmcām bhāryā
meddā śrī pārśvanātha bi(m)
baṃ kar(ā)p(i)tam śrī.

“This image of Śrī Pārśvanātha was made for the lady Meddā on Tuesday the fifth day of the light fortnight of Āṣāḍha, samvat 1623 (= 1566 A.D.).”

PLATE LXXXVI.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

21.1527. Pārśvanātha, torso and upper part of legs, of nude standing figure, with remains of *nāga* (Dharaṇendra) at back (originally sheltering the Jina with its expanded hoods).

Black stone. Malabar. Fifteenth century (?)

Height, .520 m. Gift of the Government Museum, Madras, 1921.

17.2340. Ambikā: four-armed female divinity seated at ease (*lalit-āsana*), upon a stool of hourglass form. The left knee supported by a lion, the vestige of a lion throne (*śimhāsana*): an attendant beside the right knee. The two upper hands carry the trident (*triśūla*) and drum (*ḍamaru*), the lower right hand a lotus (?), and the lower left supports the child seated on the left thigh. Small figures in adoration, possibly representing the donors, on either side of the perforated pedestal. The eyes are inlaid with silver; the *prabhā-toraṇa* is also inlaid with silver, and has a seated figure of a Jina in a shrine (*mandir*), surmounted by a *caitya*, with a *tilak* inlaid in silver. The reverse with a dated Prākṛit inscription.

Brass. Dated Saṃvat 1547 (= A.D. 1490). North Indian, probably Rājputāna.

Height, .140 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

The inscription in Nandināgarī characters reads:

Saṃvataṃ 1547 varṣe mā(gha) su(di) 13 śrī mālaṭhākarā gotre saṃsī jagala bhā(ryā) hīrāde su(ta) asa(n)kena yāvānā bhrā śrīpāla bhā(ryā) nāghī pra(tiṣṭhitam) varivāra yutena śrī ambikā kārītā pra(tiṣṭhitam) kharatara gacche śrī jina bāndra suri paṭe śrī jina samadra suribhiḥ.

“This image of the Blessed Ambikā was caused to be made by Āsaṅka, the son of Saṃsī Jagala of the Śrī Mālaṭhākarā clan and his wife Hīrāde, in company with his younger brother Śrī Pāla and his wife Nāghī and was installed by the Prelates Śrī Jina Bandra and Śrī Jina Samudra of the Kharatara order in the year Saṃvat 1547, the thirteenth (day) of the light fortnight of Māgha.”

Jina Samudra Suri was prelate of the Kharatara branch of the Śvetāmbara division of the Jaina church, Saṃvat 1530–55 (Nahar, P. C. and Ghosh, K., *An epitome of Jainism*, Calcutta, 1917, p. liv).

PLATE LXXXVI.

SCULPTURE

17.2347. Standing female figure, probably representing a *gopī* in a dance chorus and forming part of the decoration of a shrine. The feet crossed, the hands separated and probably originally holding a drum. Large earrings, necklace, numerous bangles, *dhotī*. Bracket pedestal.

Gujarāt (?) Eighteenth century.

Height, .240 m. Ross-Coomaraswamy Collection.

PLATE LXV.

17.2337. Lakṣmī-Nārāyana, perhaps Jain, see p. 108.

INDIAN COLLECTIONS

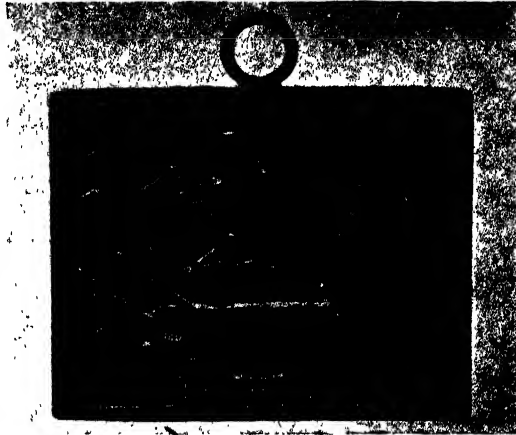
MUGHAL

85.203. Princess with seven attendants, the princess seated on a throne or chair: similar in composition to Mughal paintings of the school of Shāh Jahān.

Thin cast bronze plaque with attached ring. Reverse with ink inscription. *Culte des Boyeaux. Voyage de l'amiral Dumont d'Urville . . .* (no doubt the famous French navigator and explorer Jules Sébastien César Dumont d'Urville, 1790–1842), author of *Voyage de la Corvette l'Astrolabe . . . 1826–1829*, Paris, 1830–1834, and *Voyage pittoresque autour du monde*, Paris, 1843.

Mughal. Mid-seventeenth century.

Dimensions, .095 (including the ring) × .096. Gift of the estate of Alfred Greenough.



85.203

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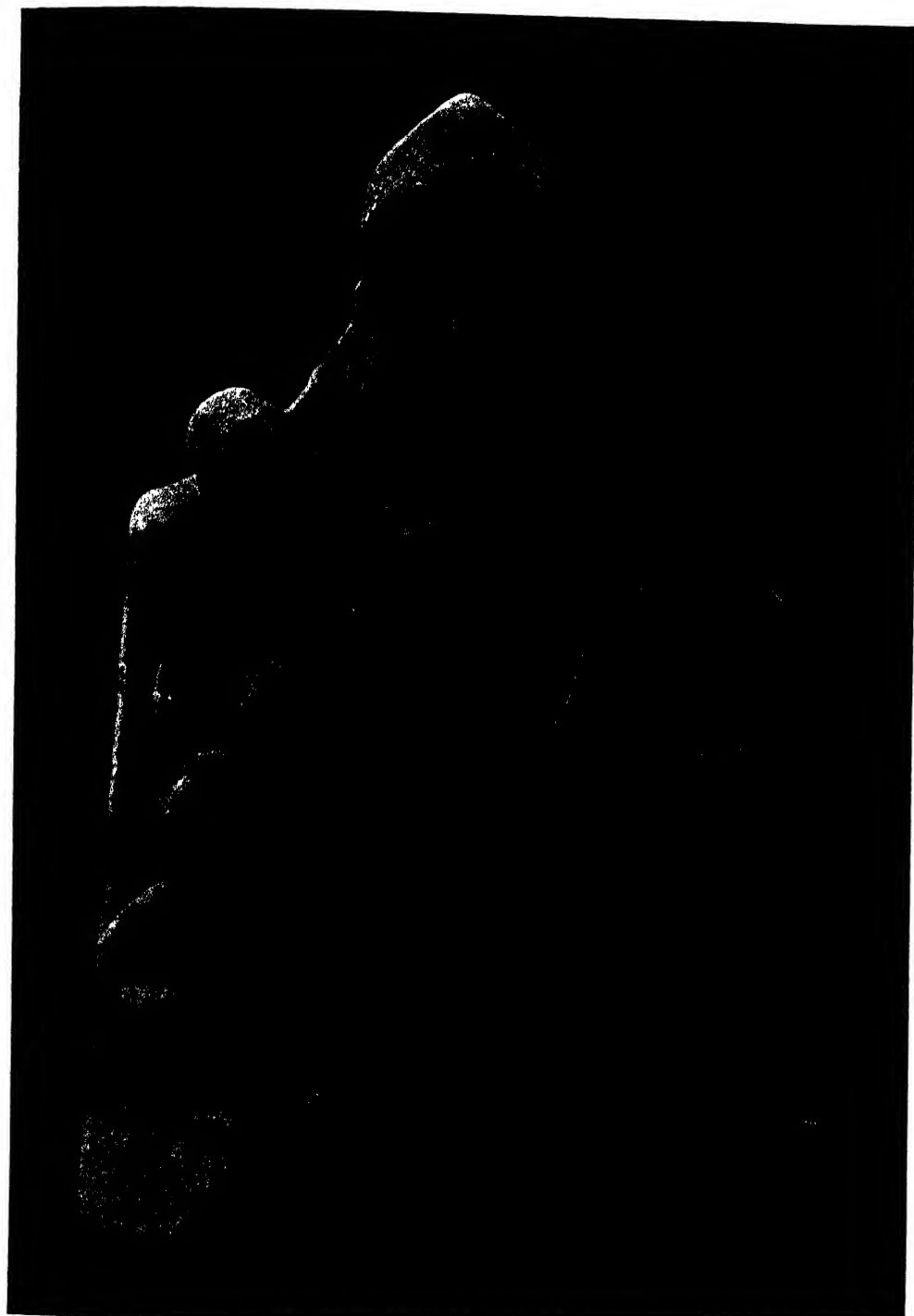
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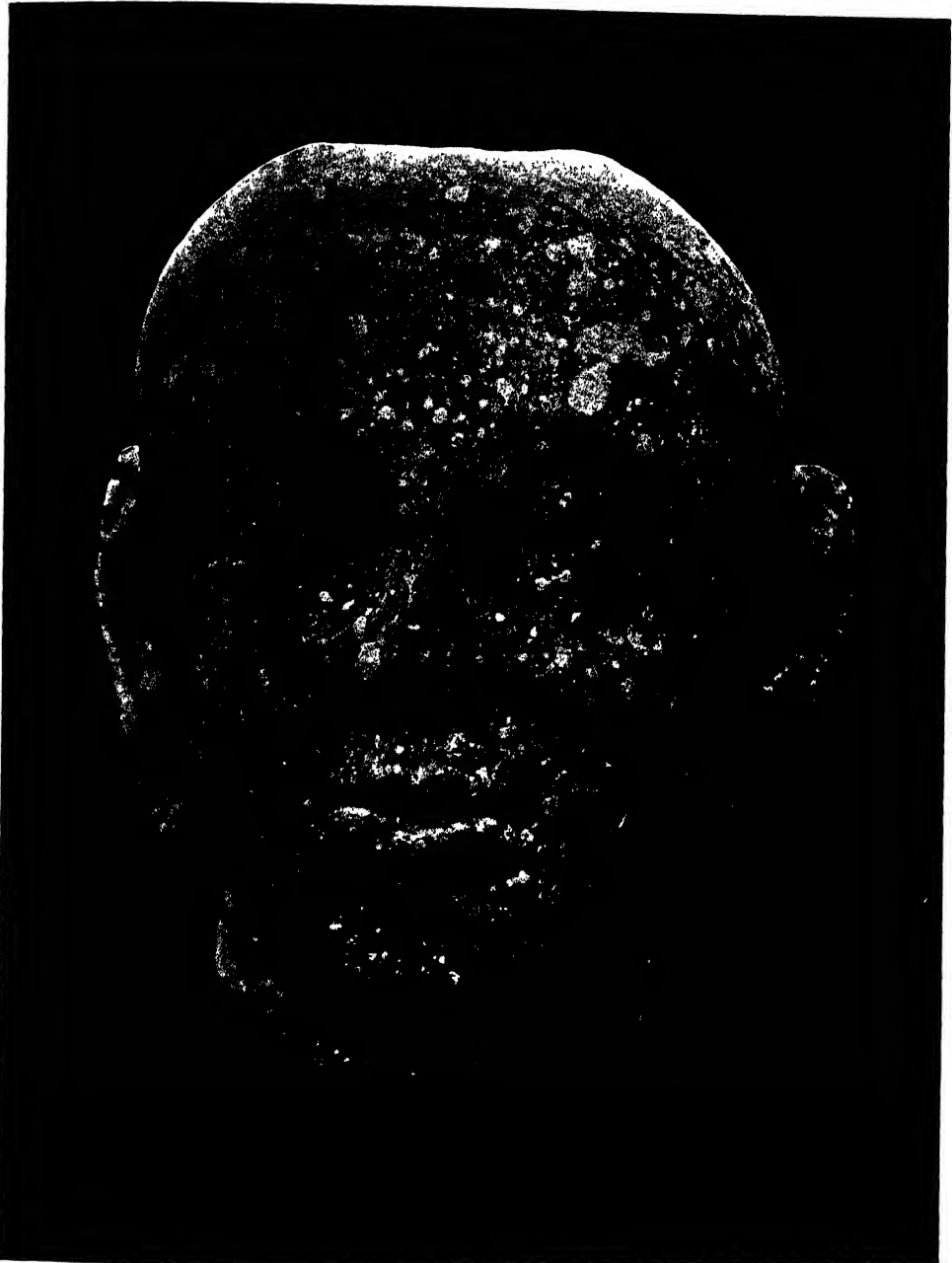
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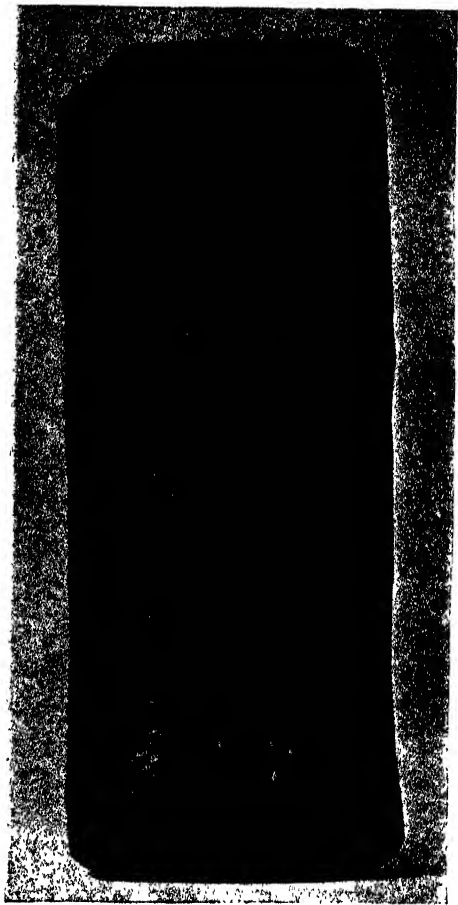






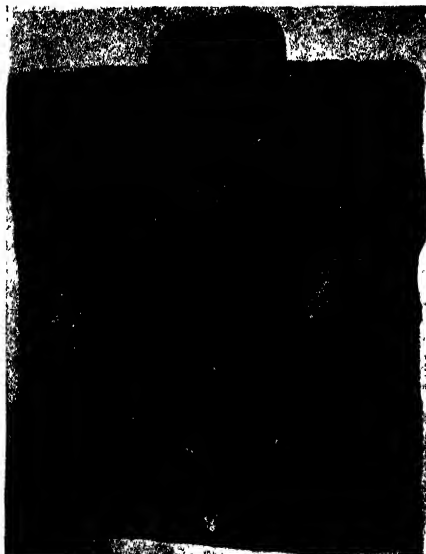
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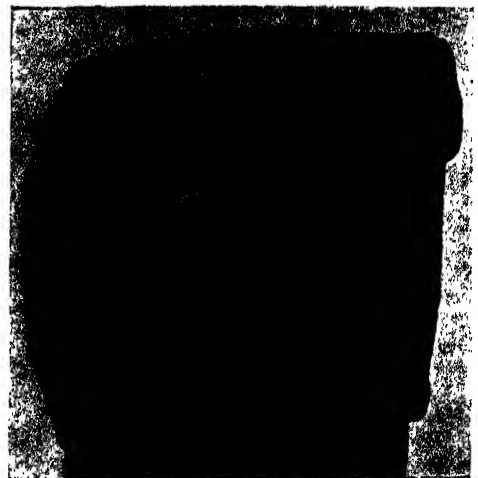
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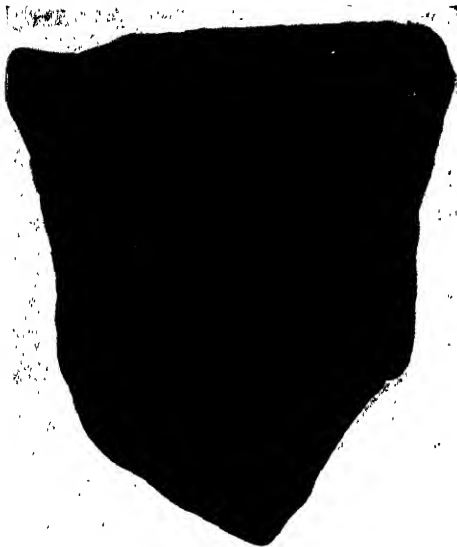
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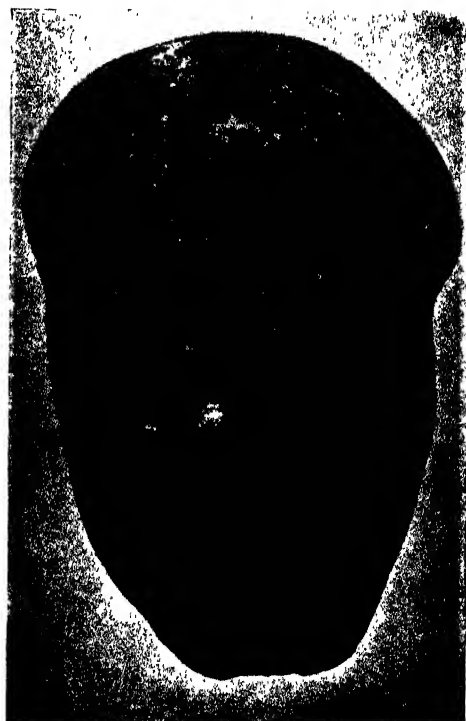
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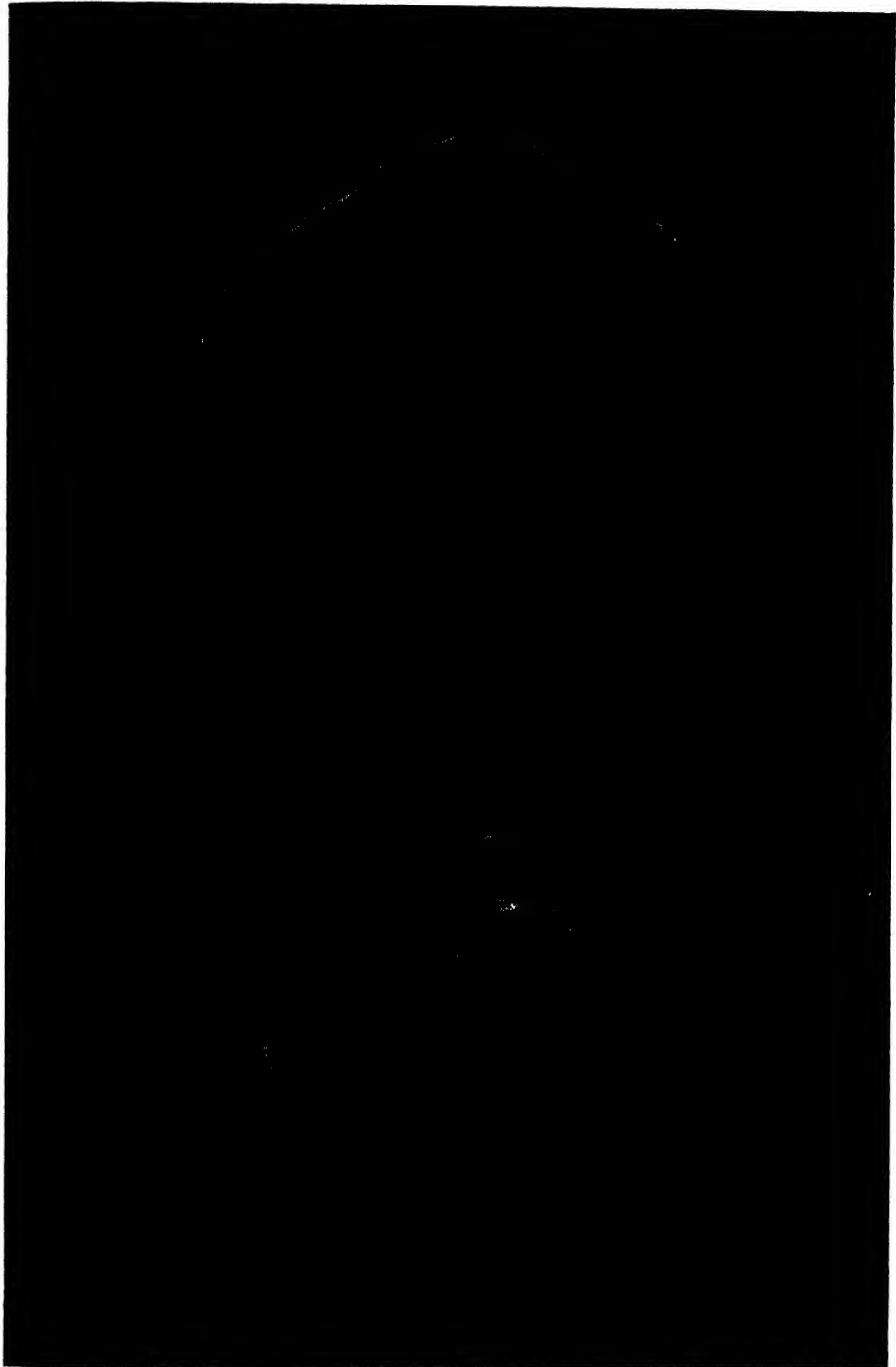
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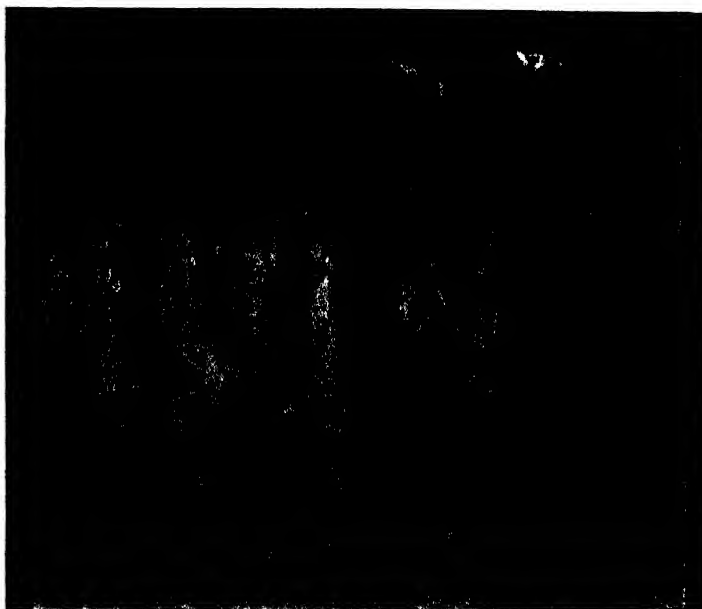
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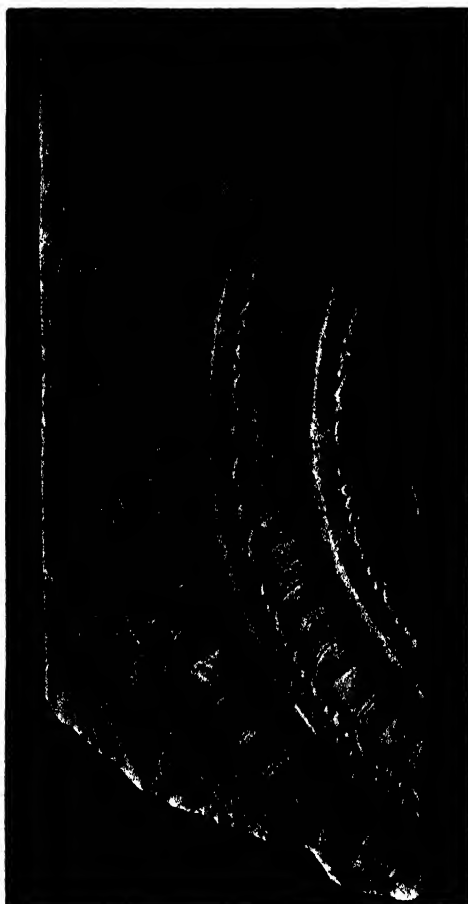
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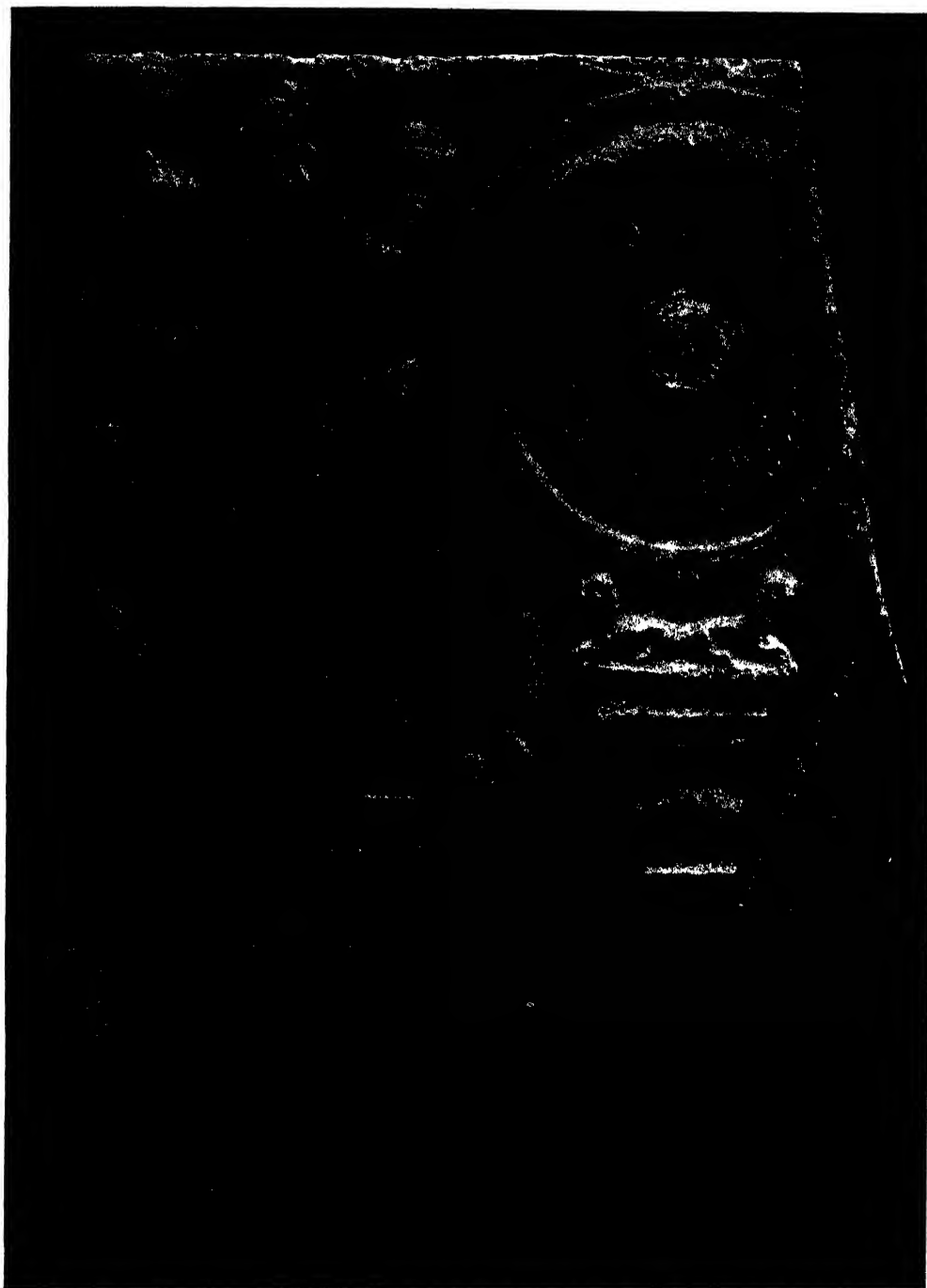
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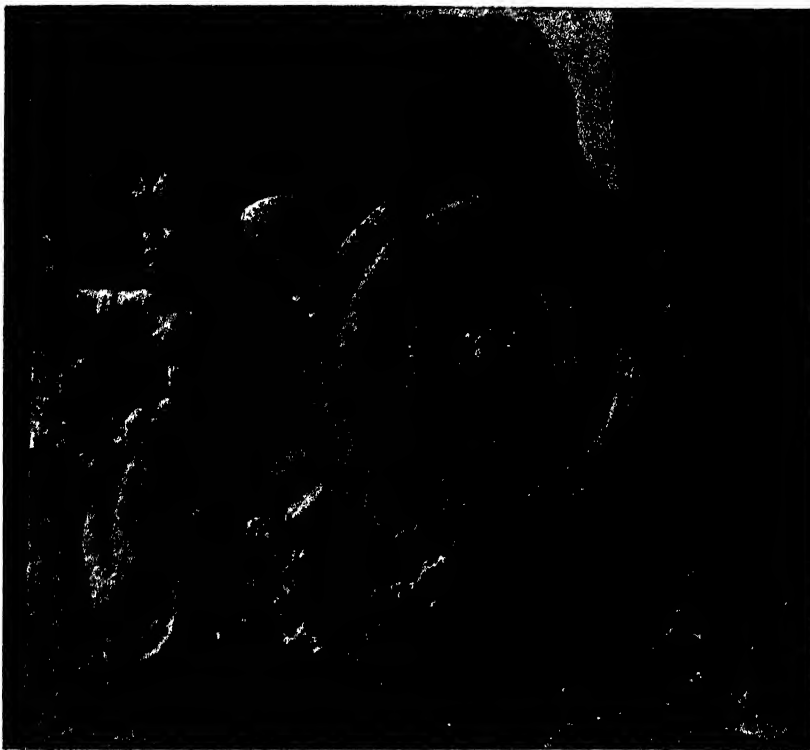
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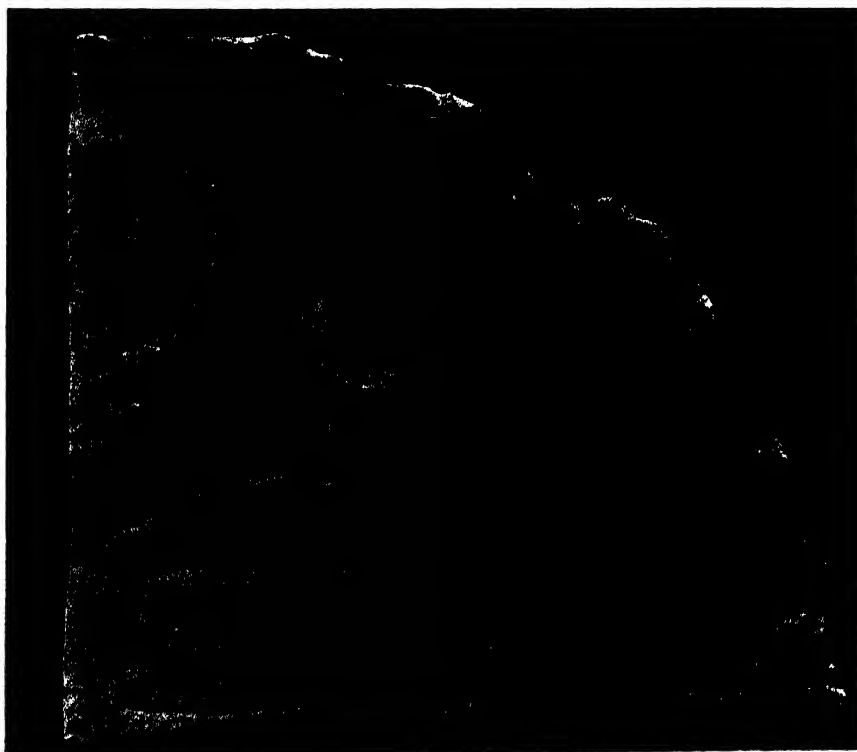
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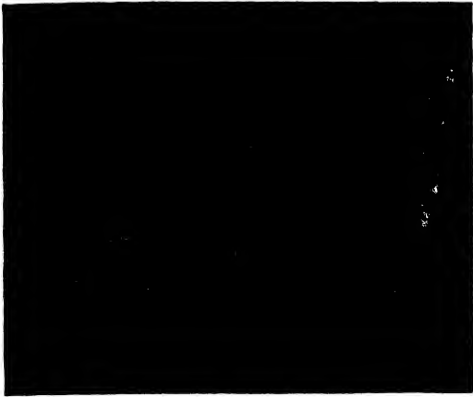


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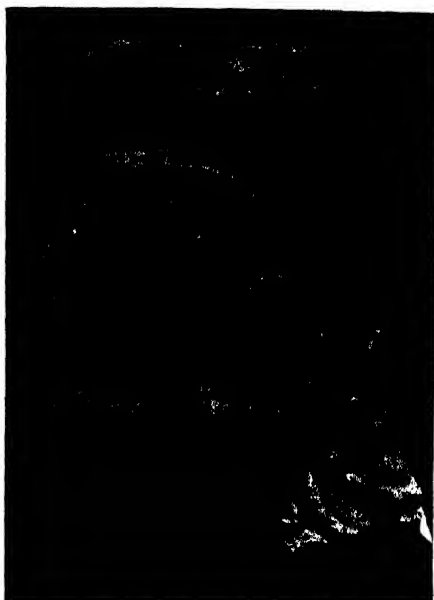
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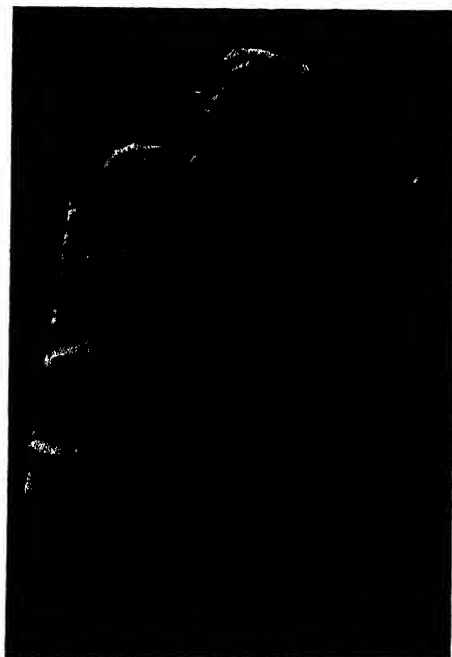
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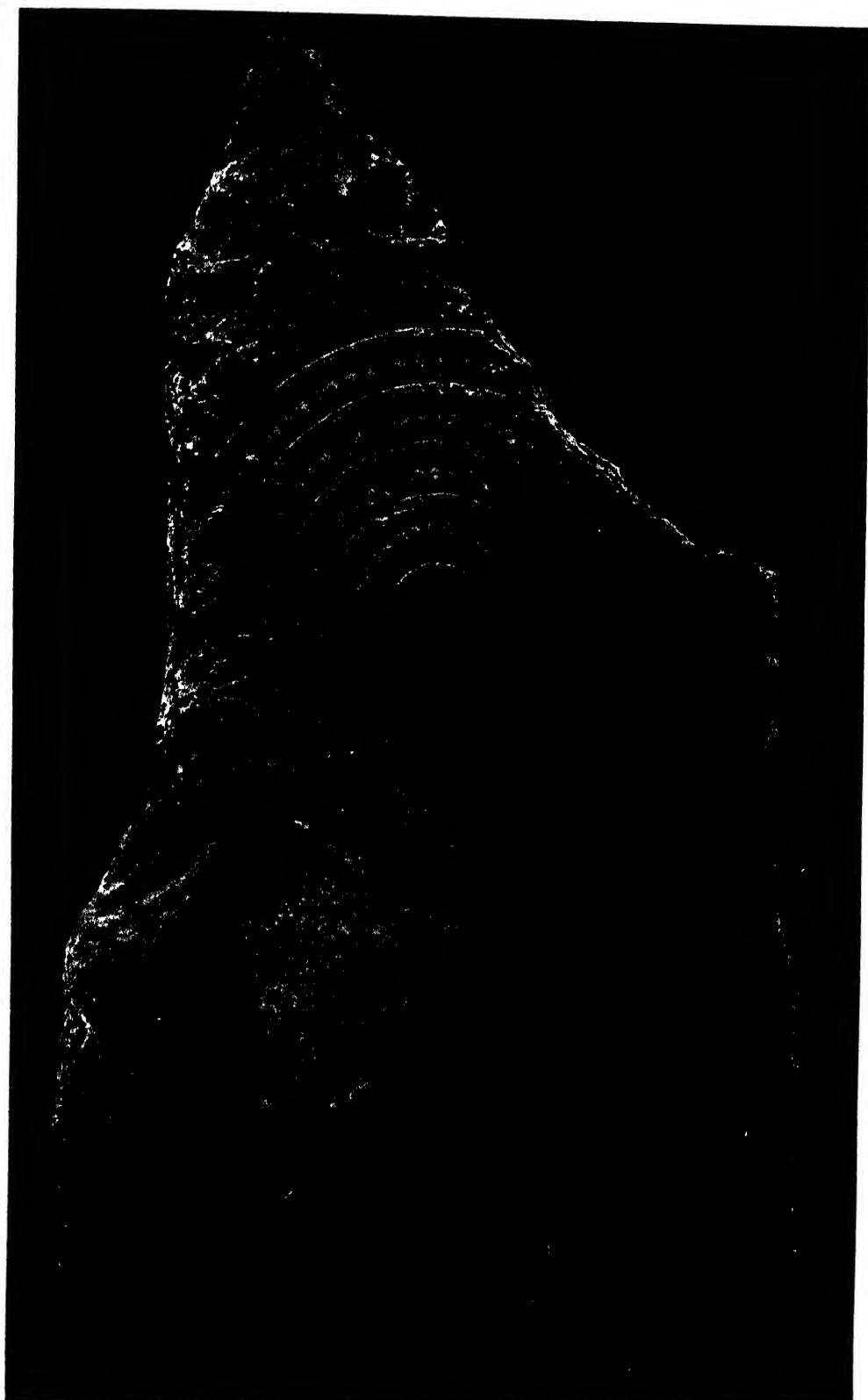
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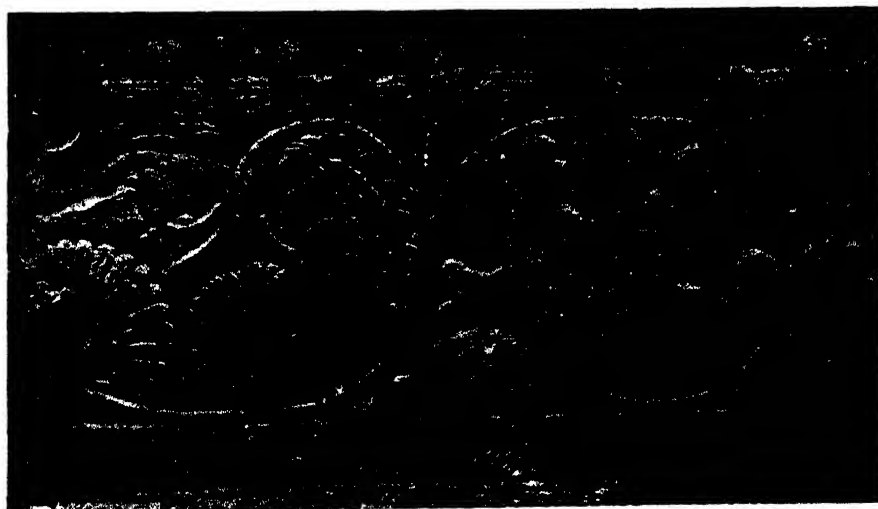
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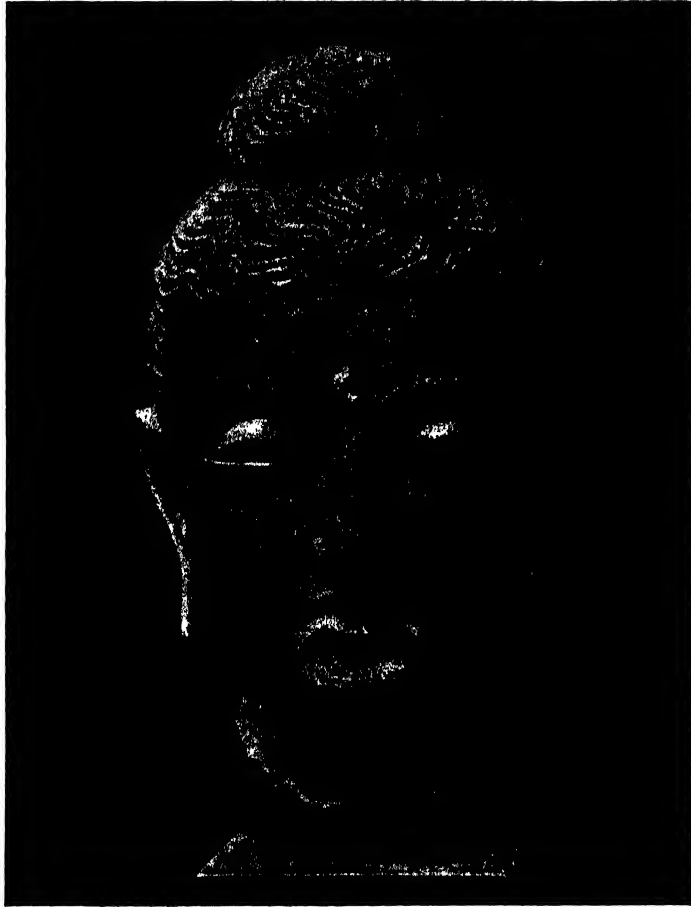
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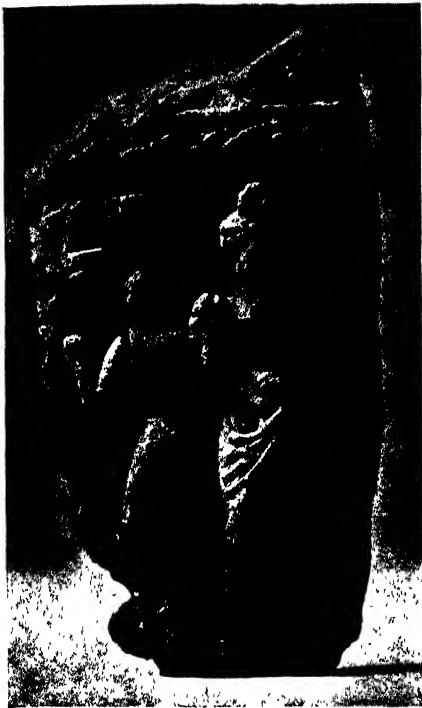
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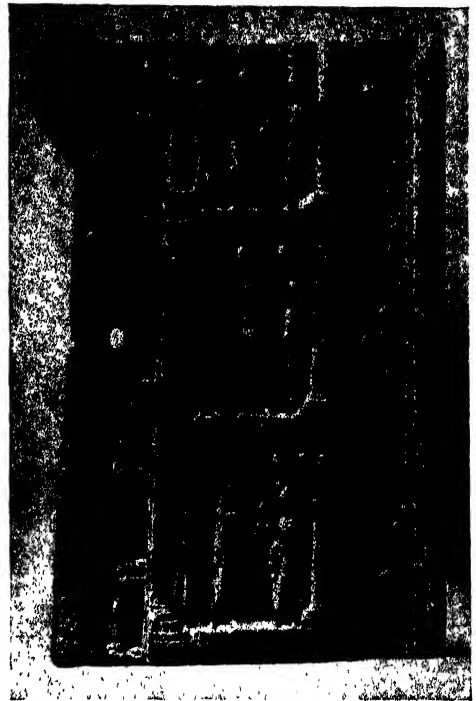
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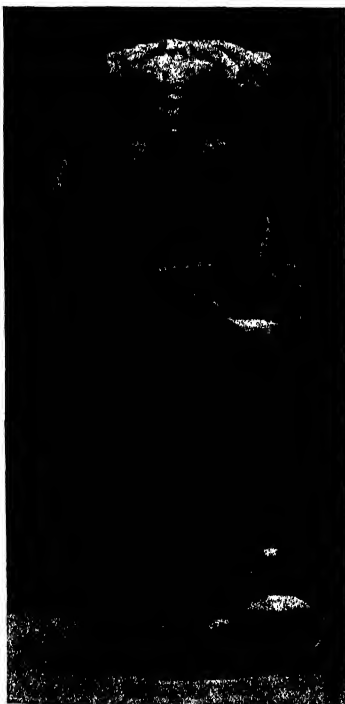
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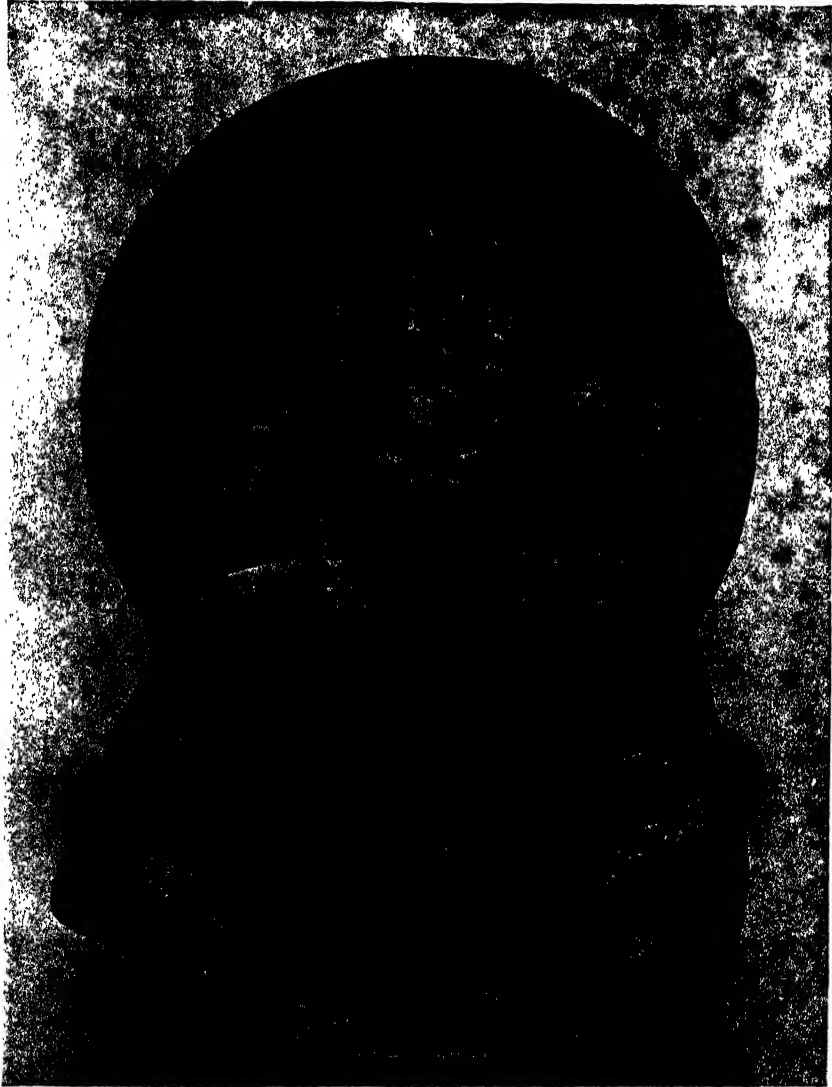
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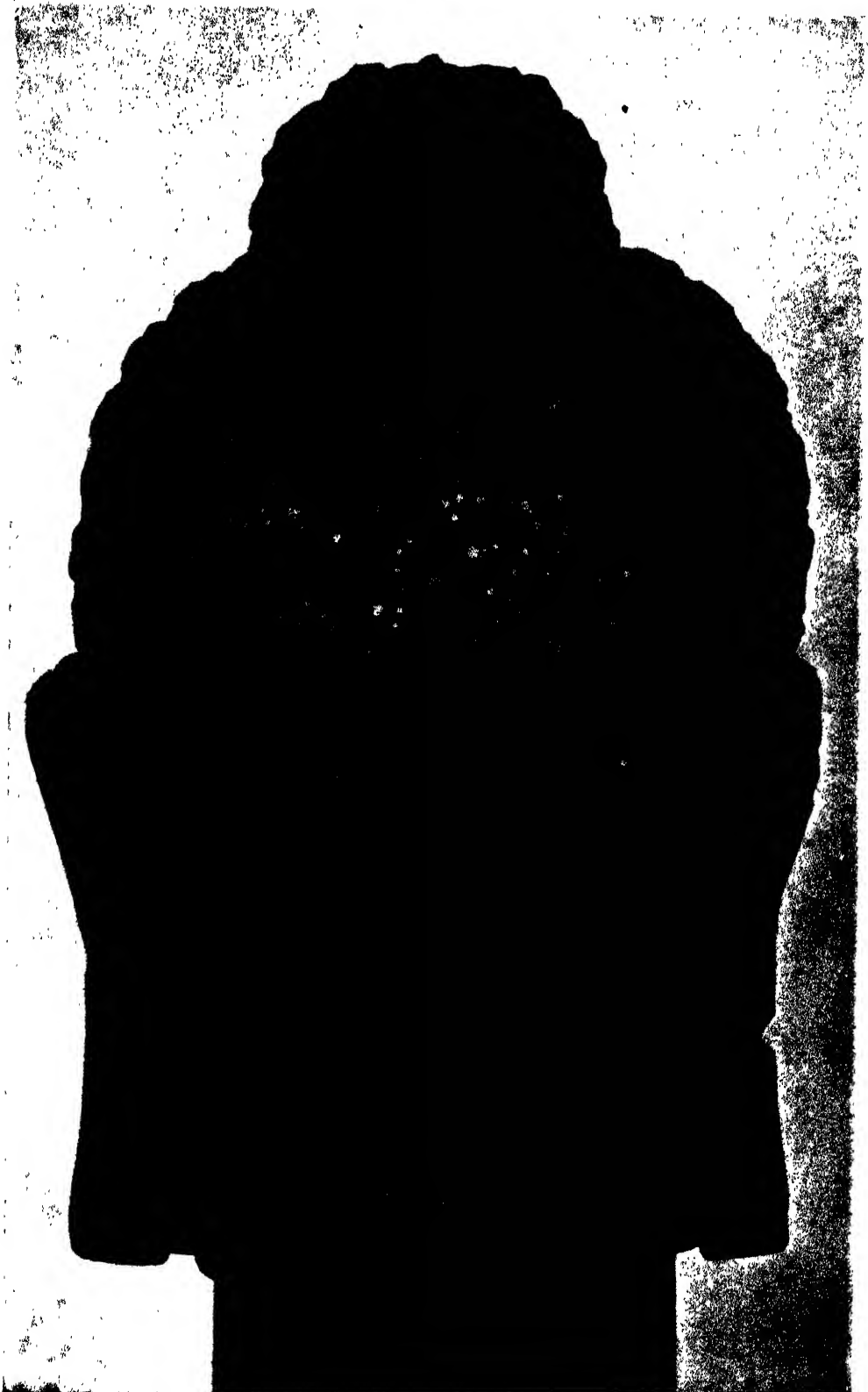
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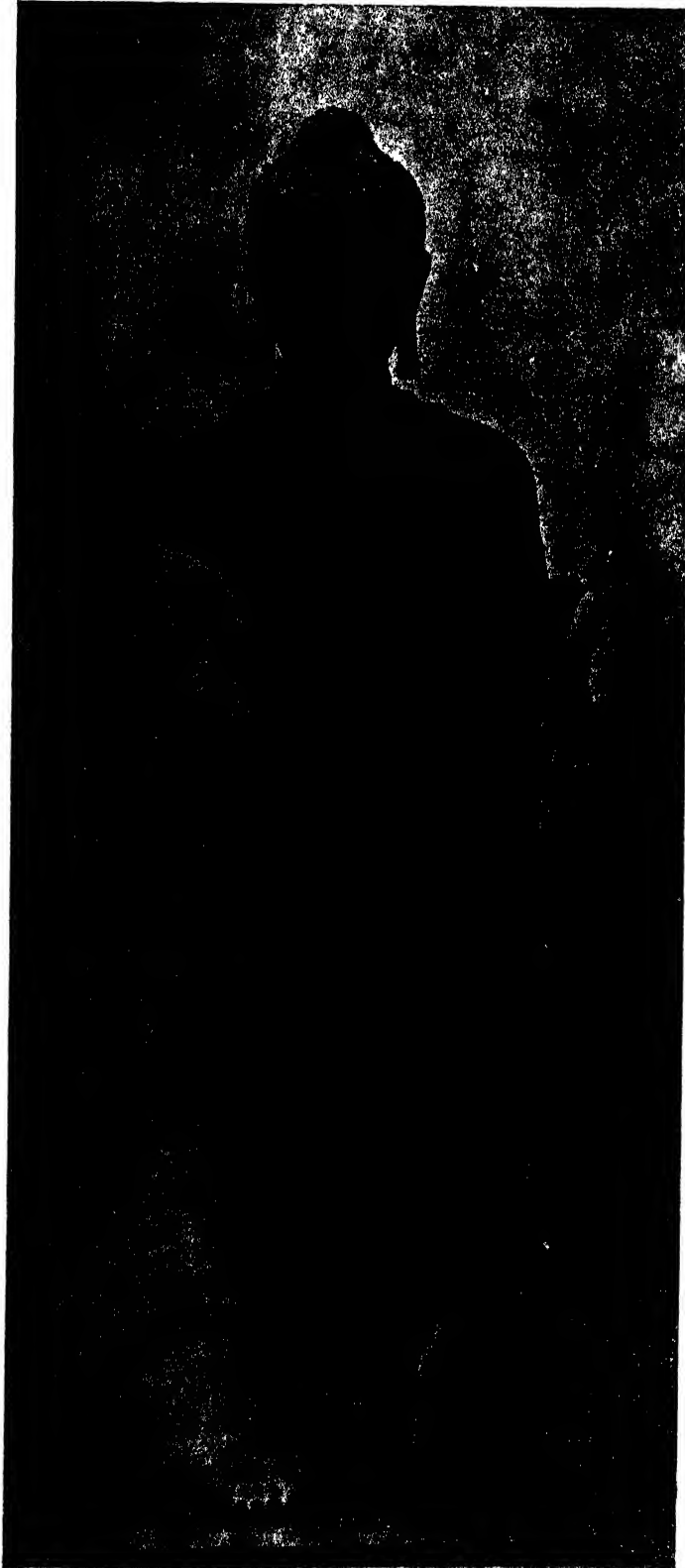
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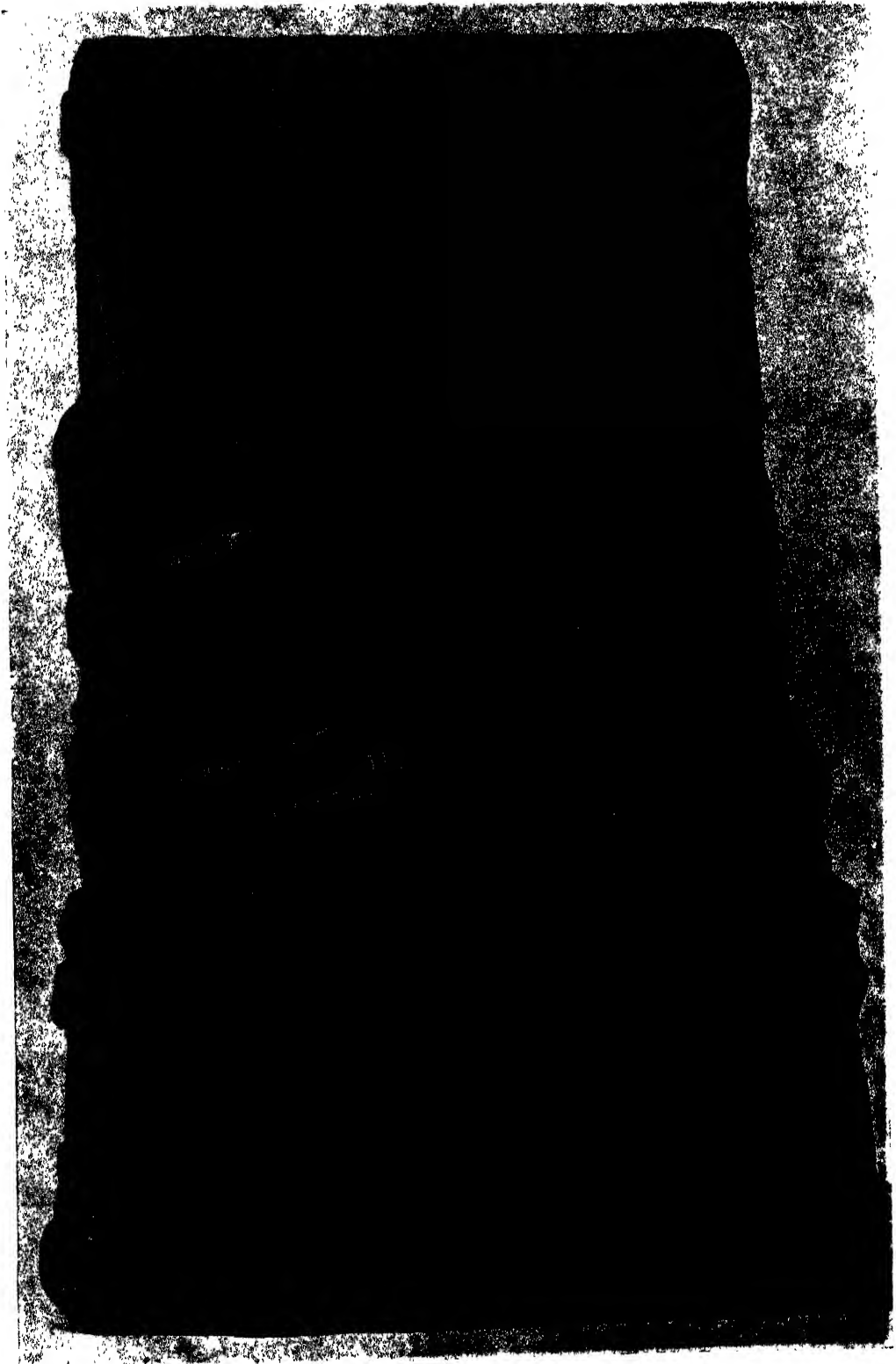


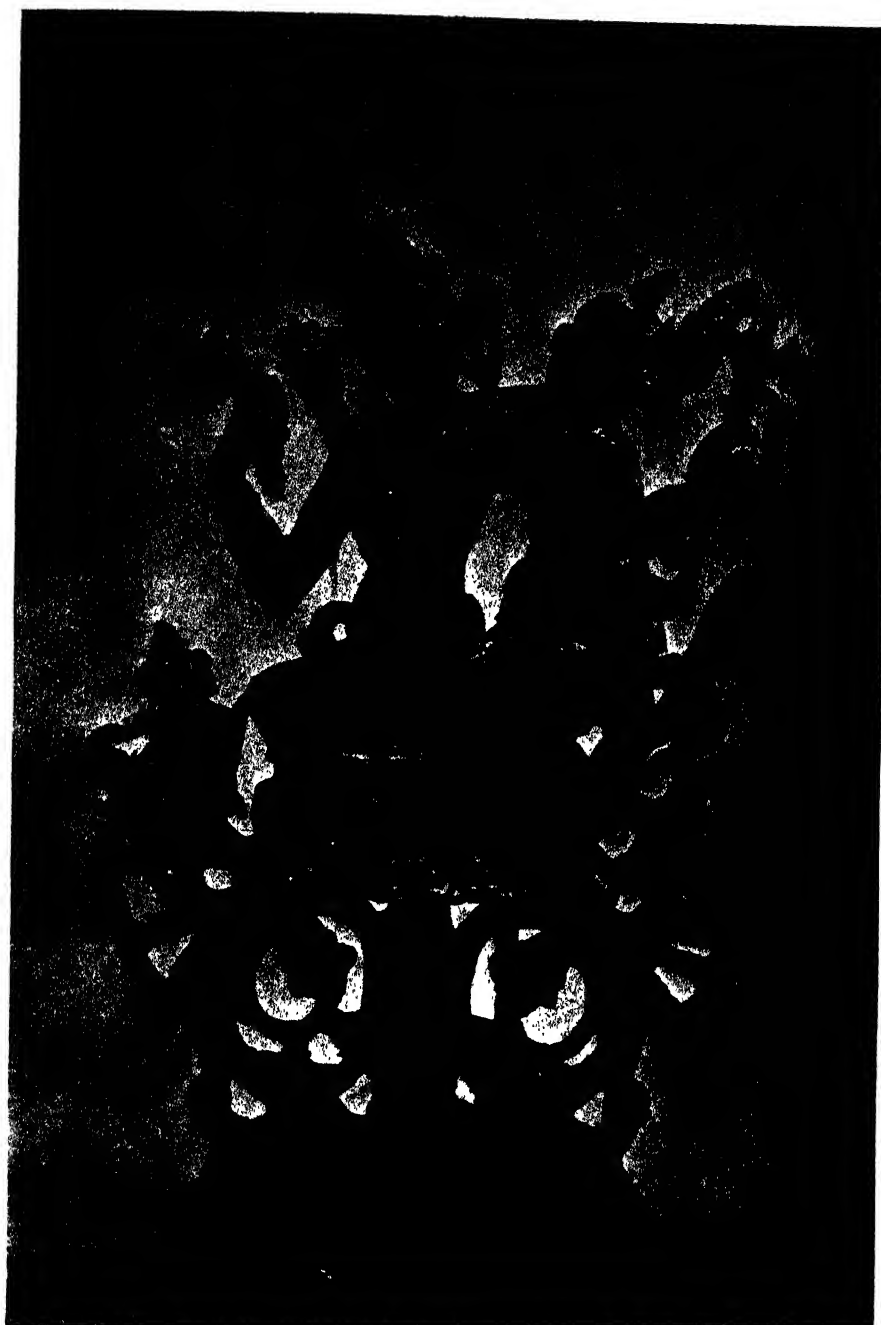
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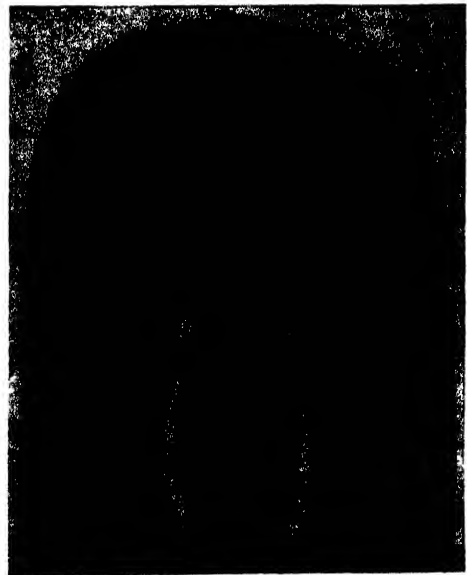
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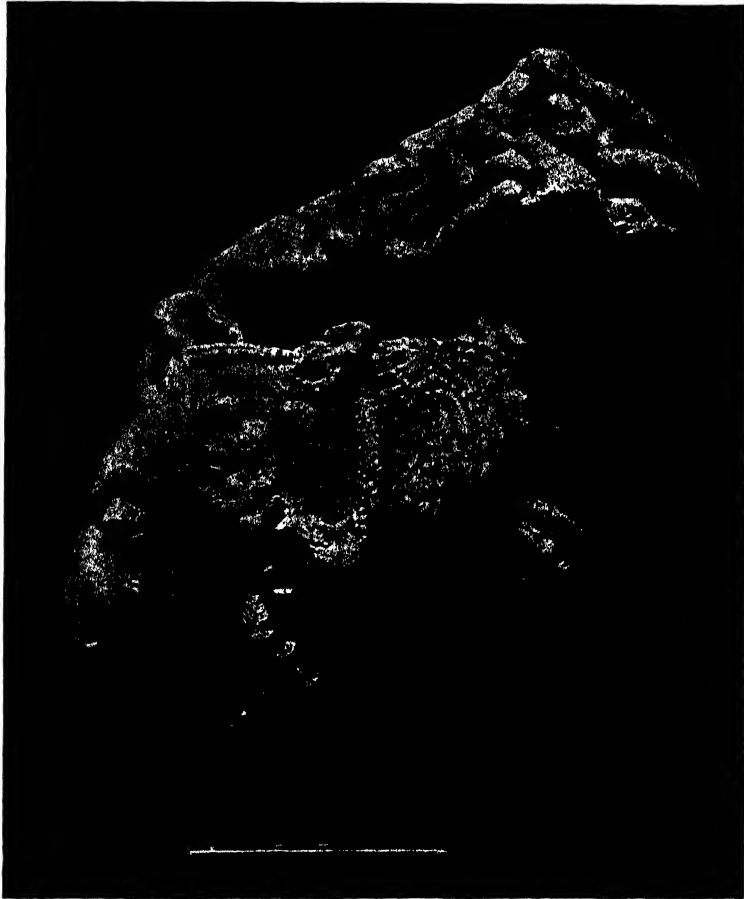
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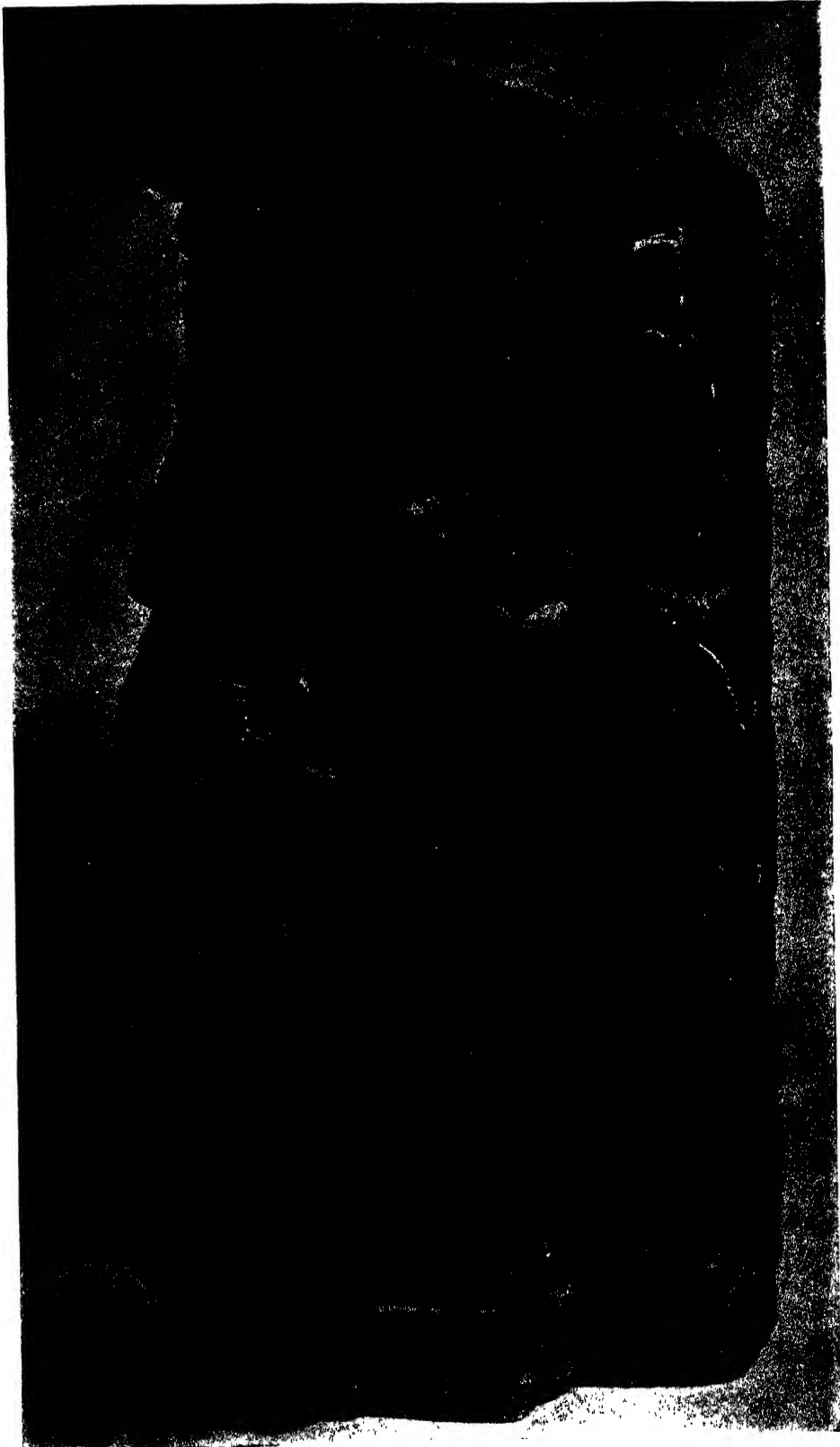
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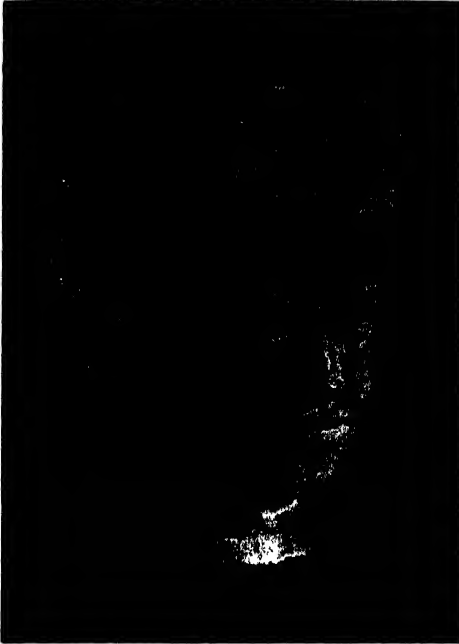




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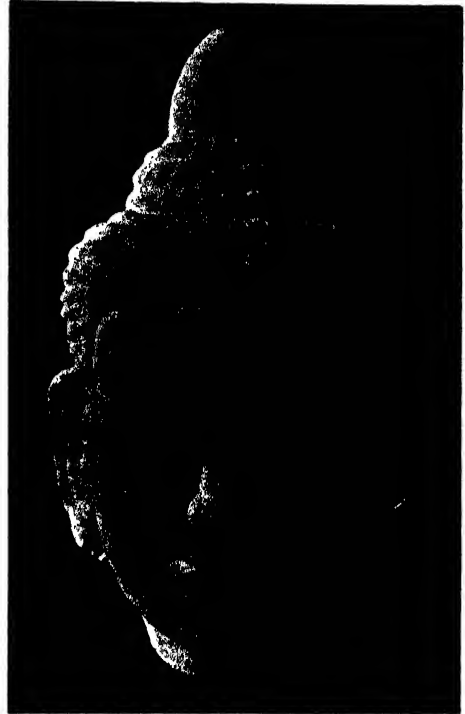
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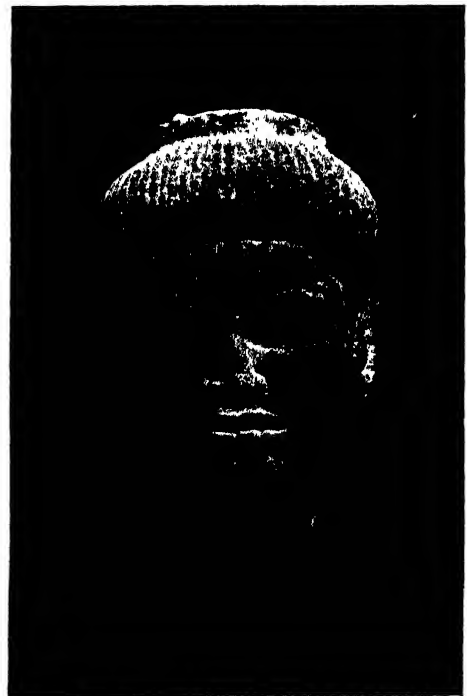
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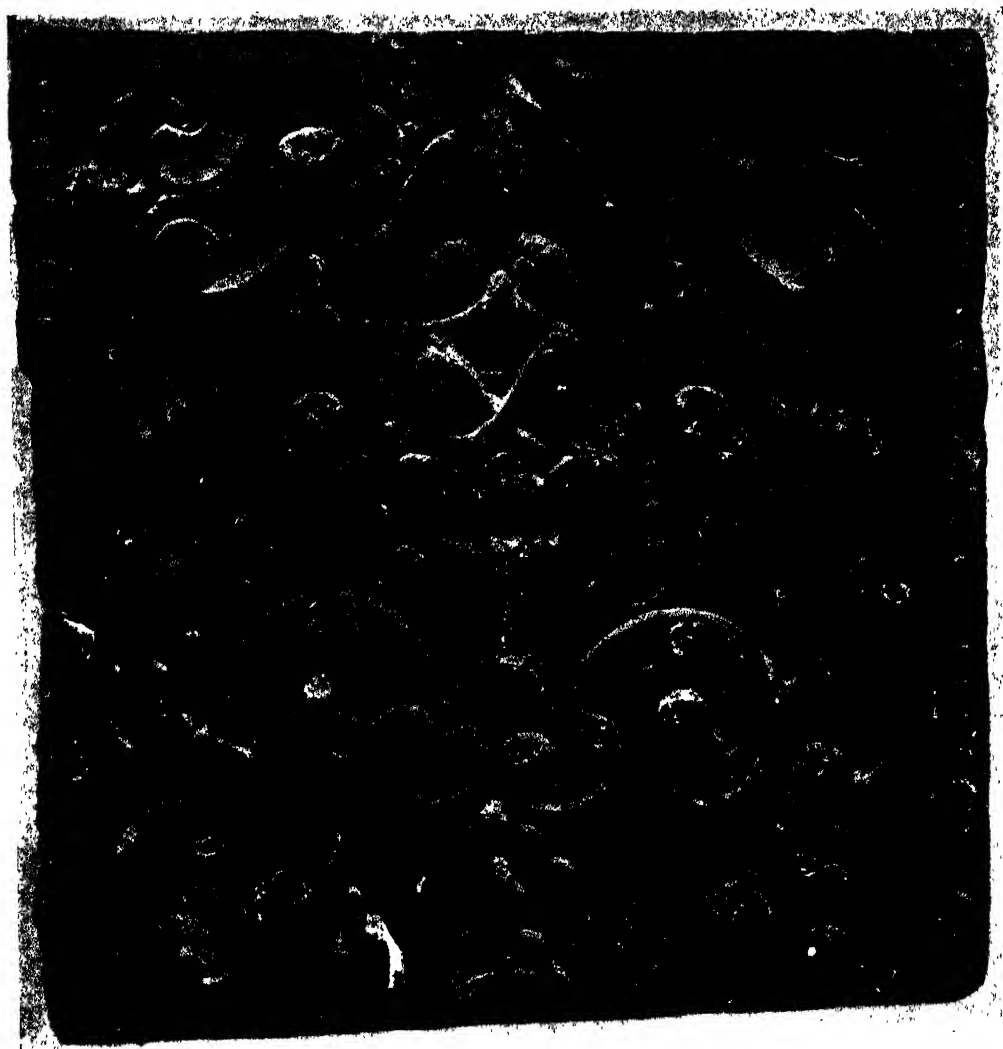
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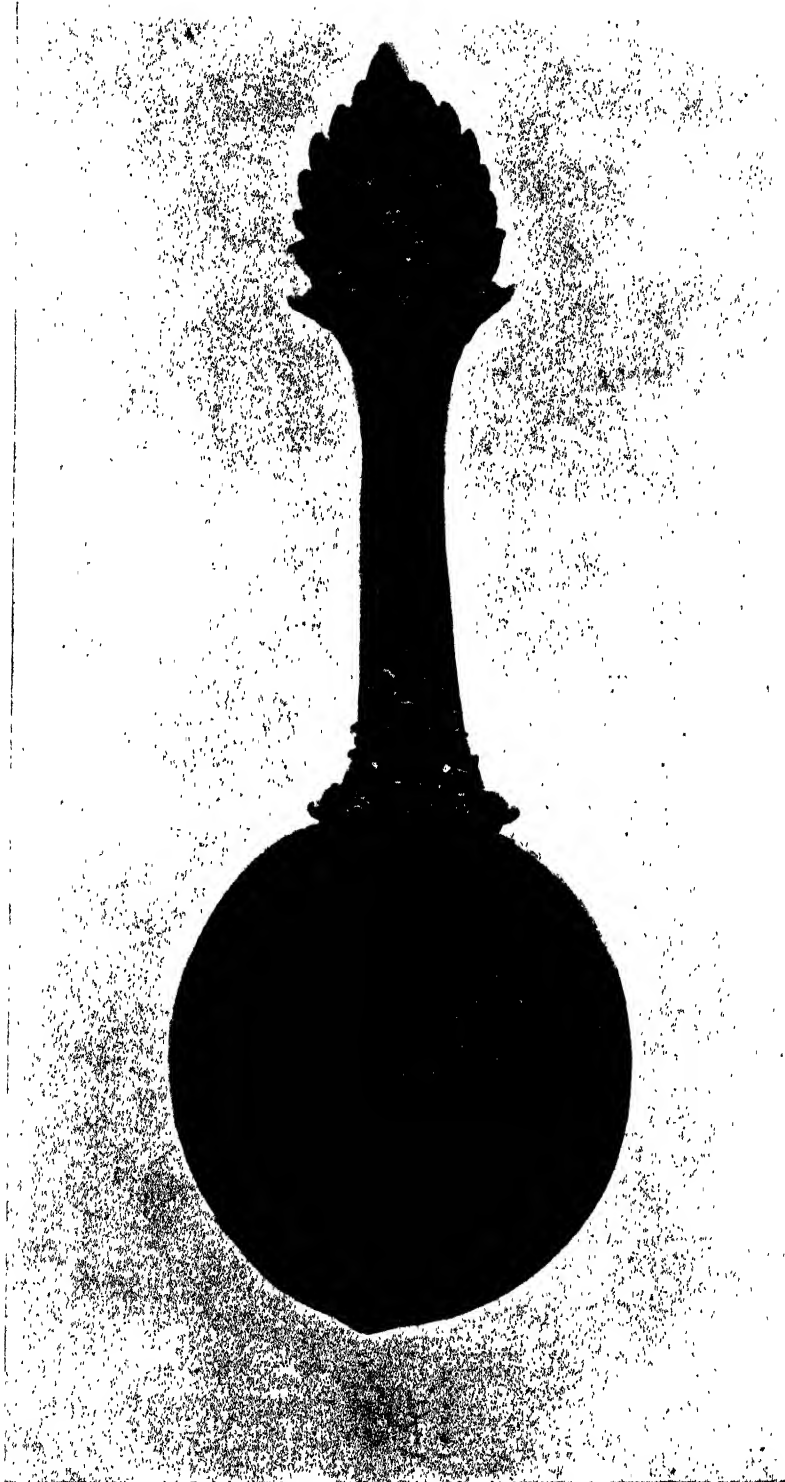


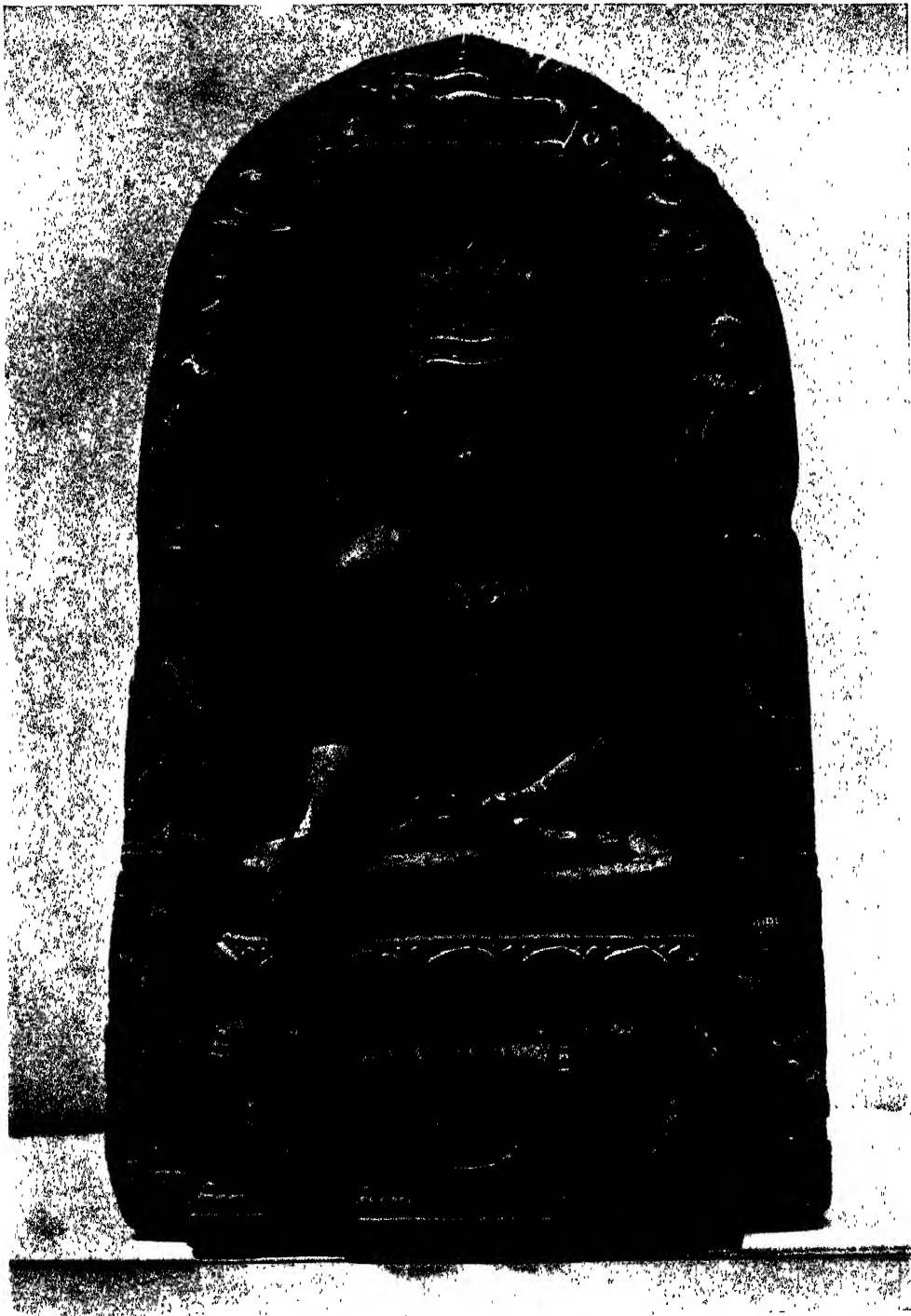


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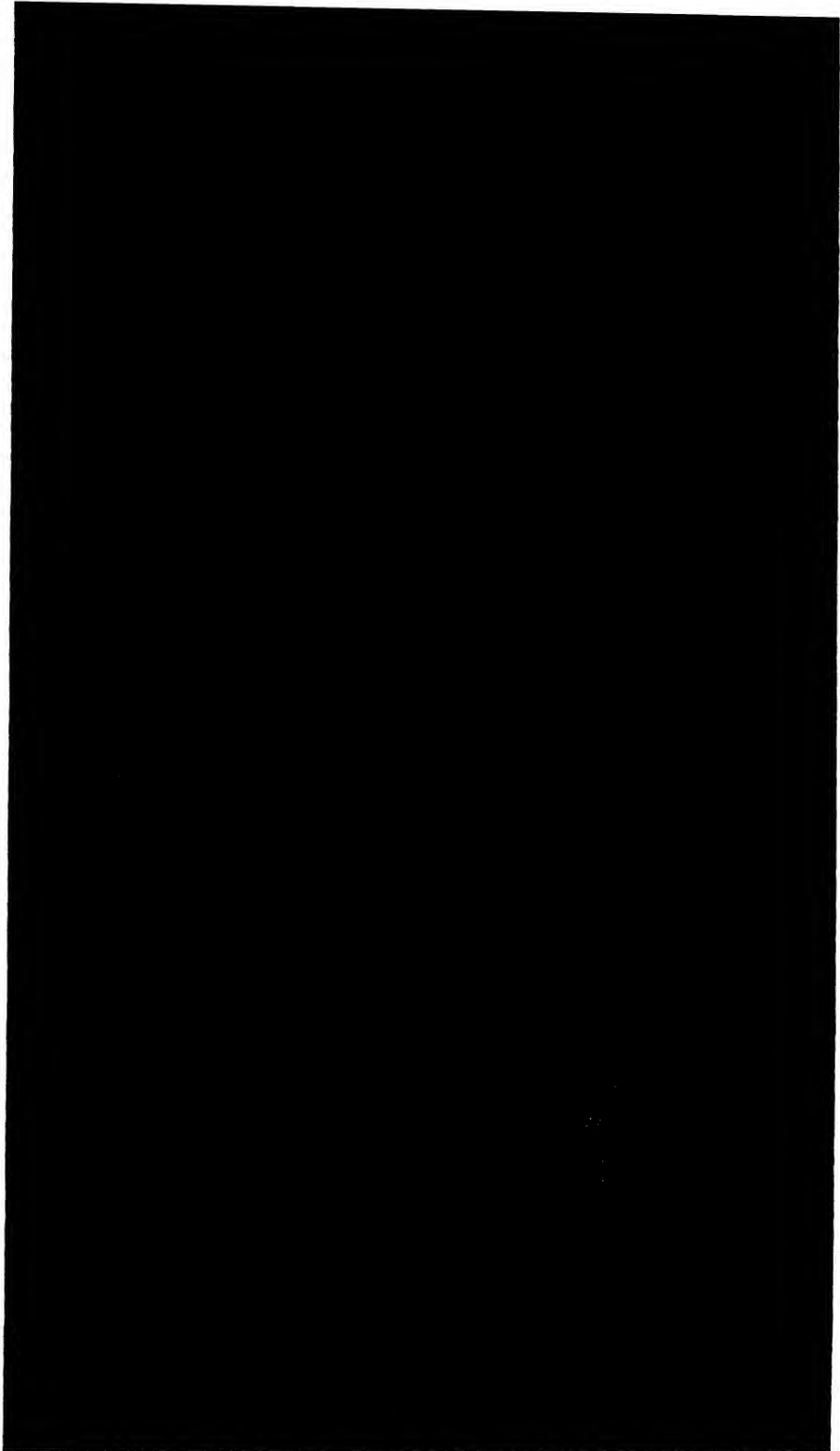
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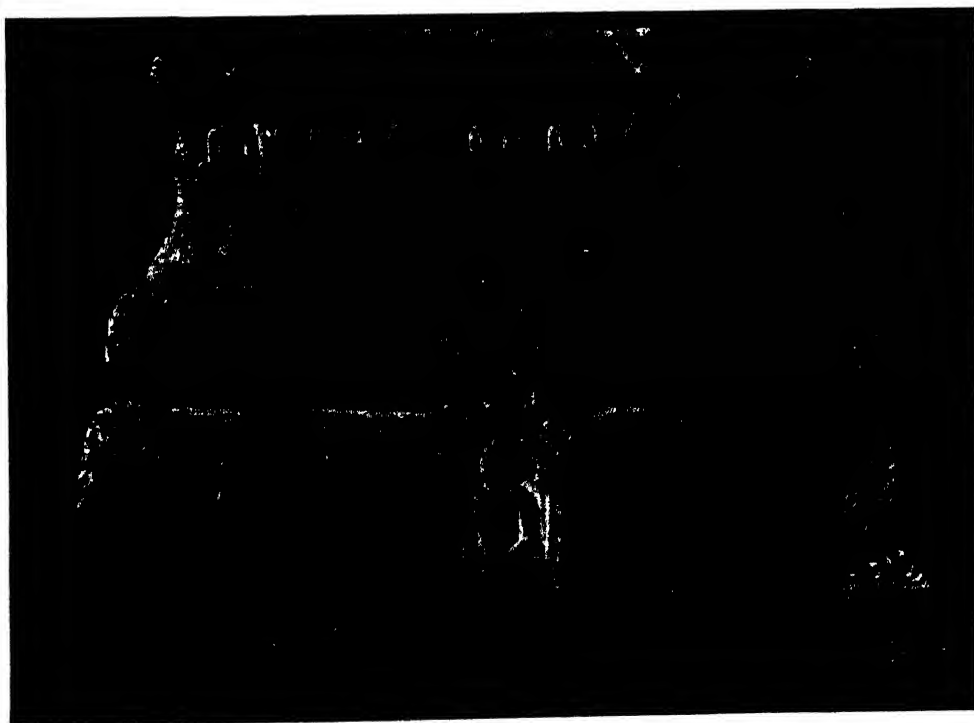
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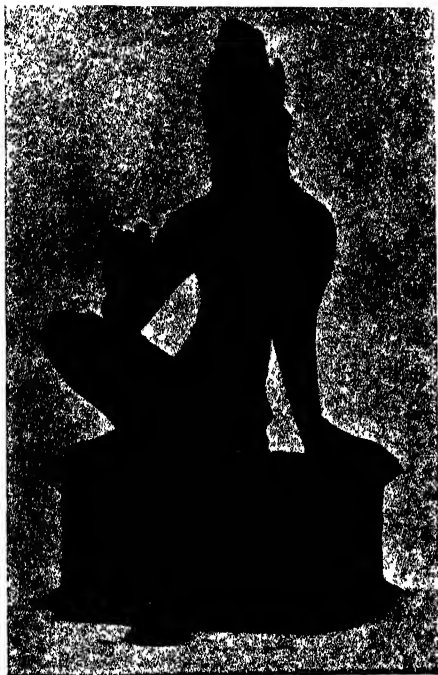
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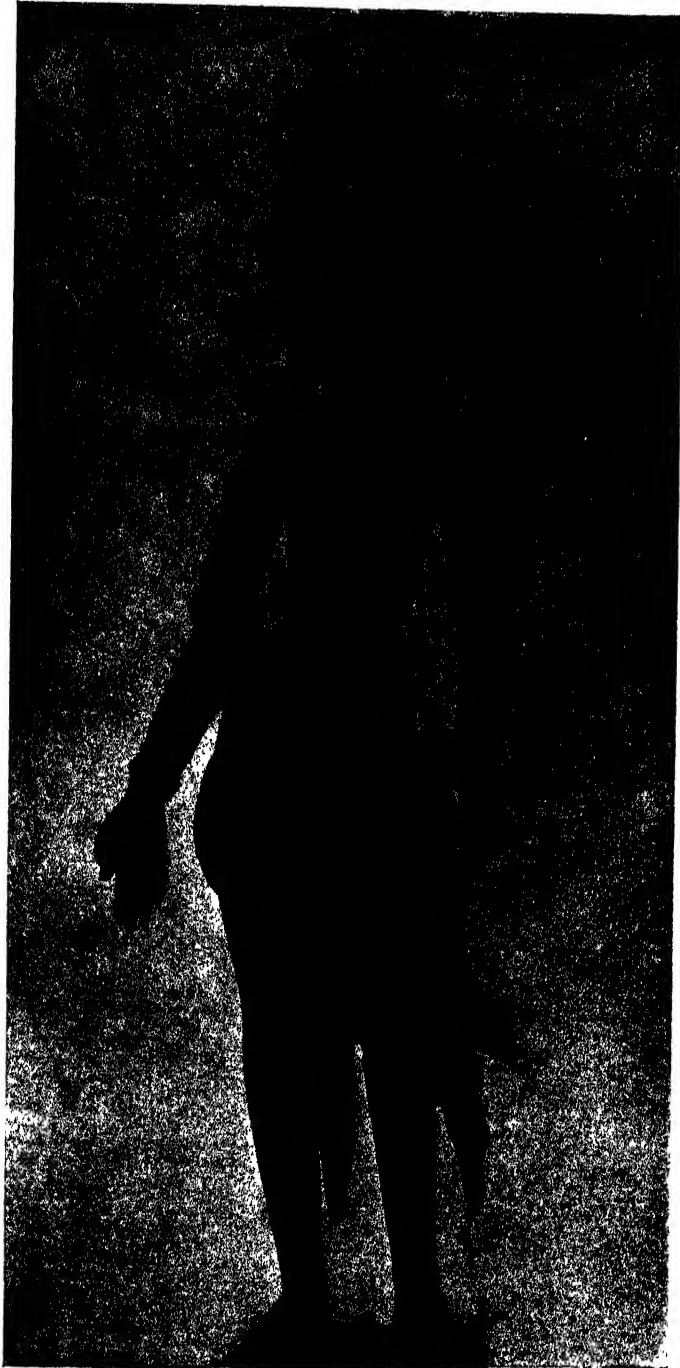
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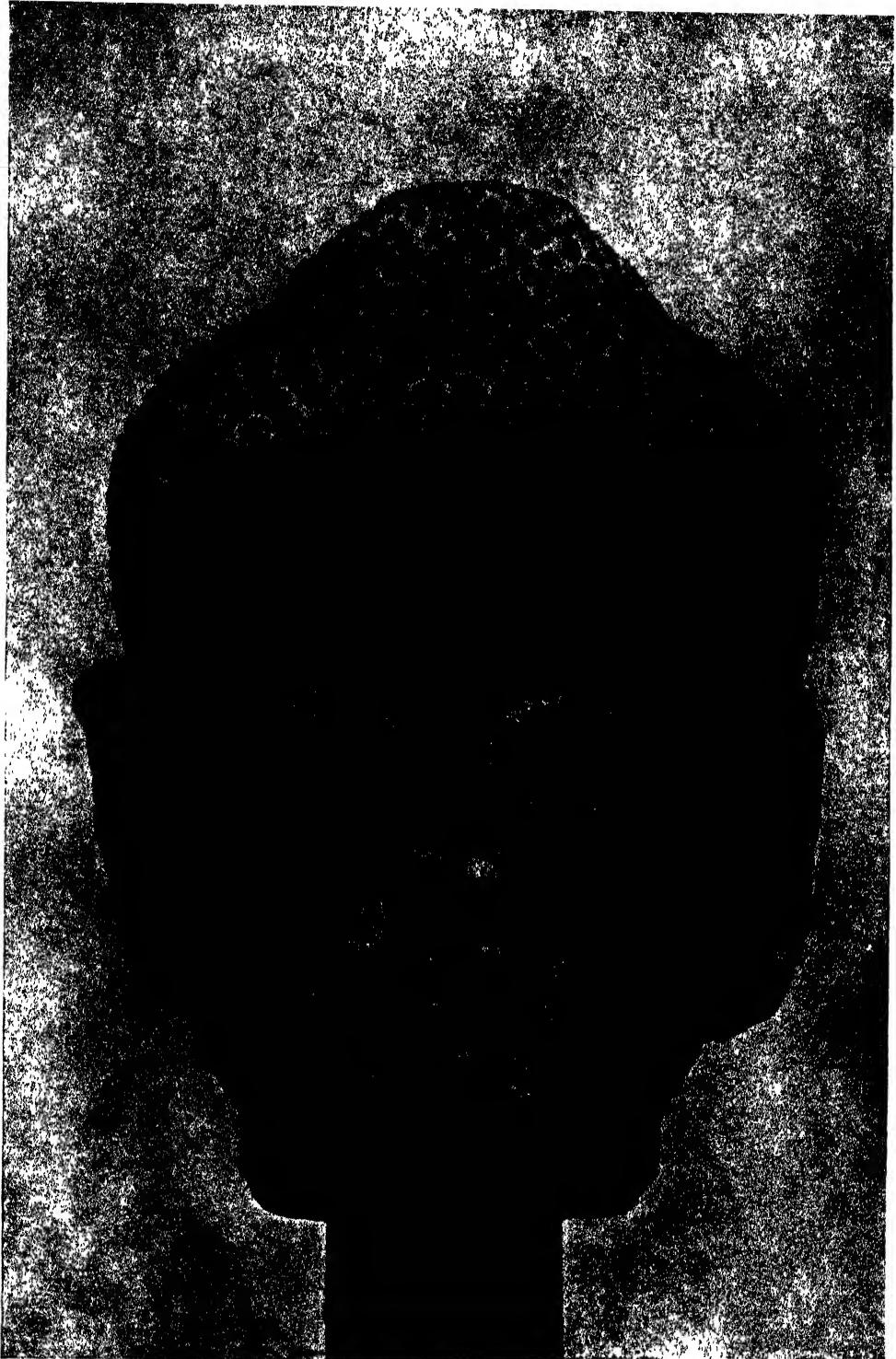
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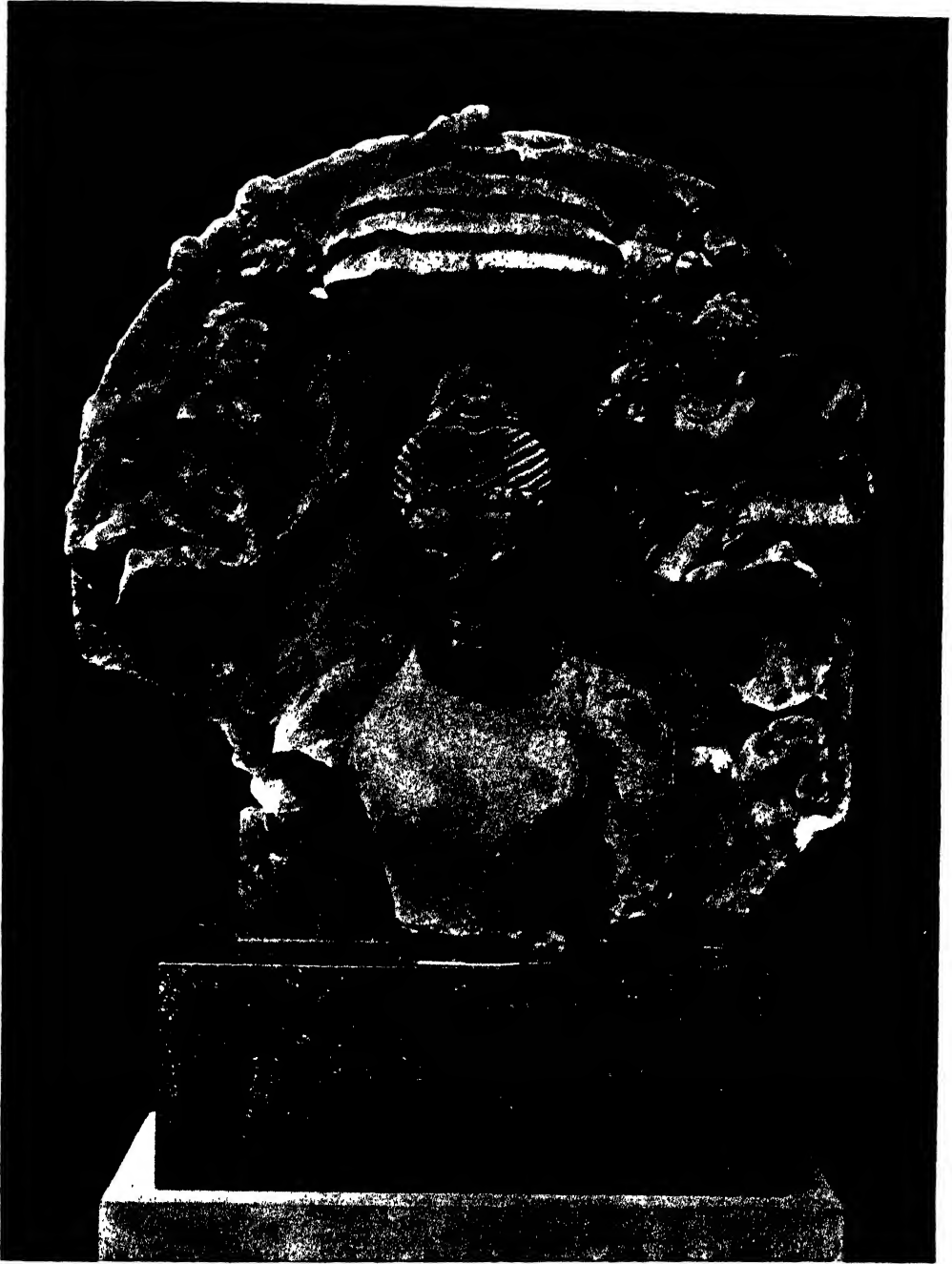
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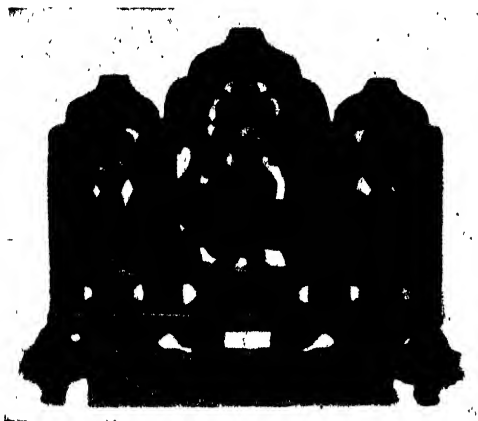


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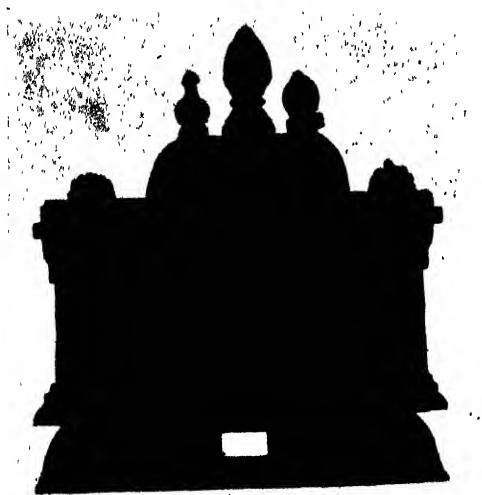
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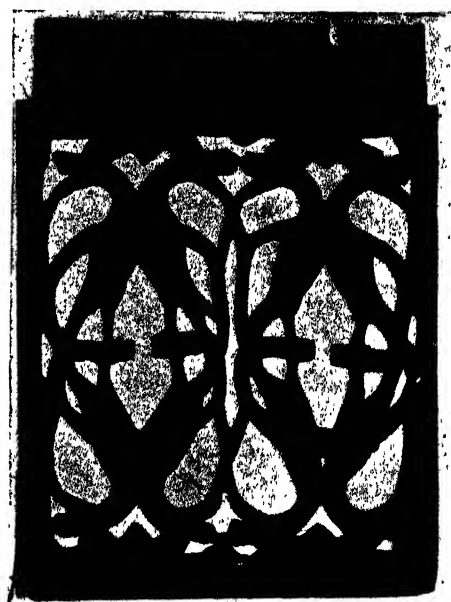
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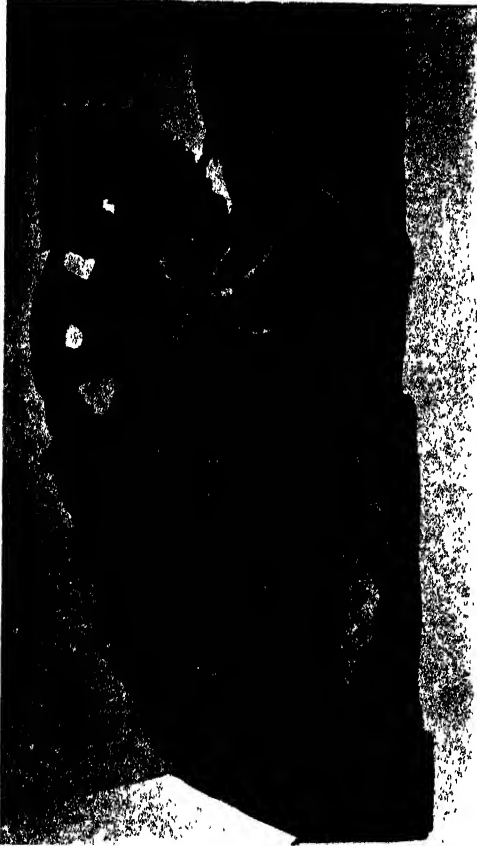
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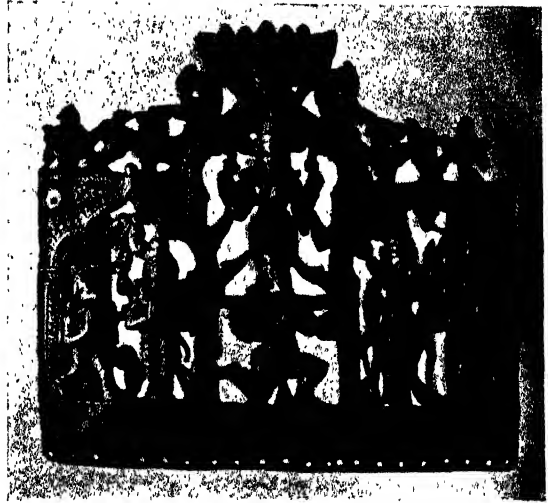
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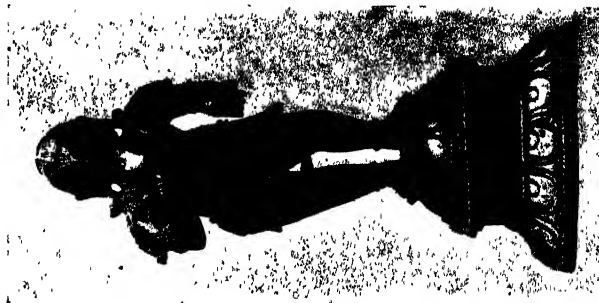


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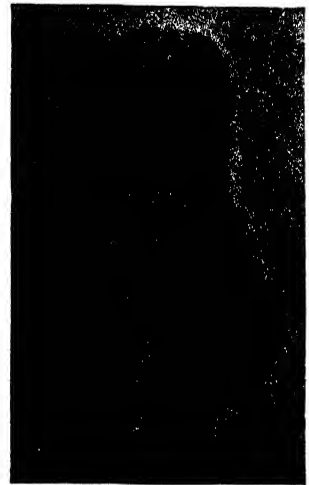
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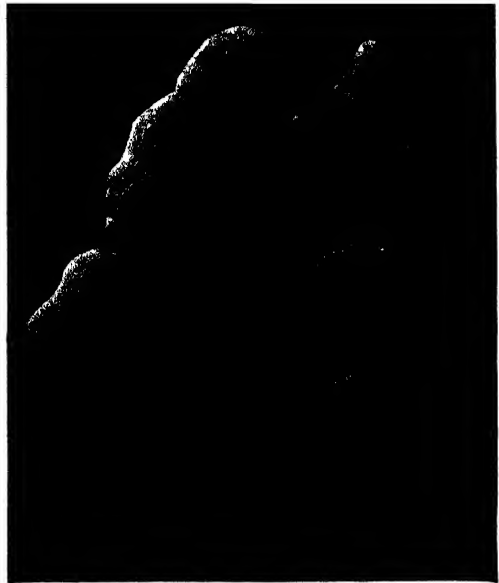
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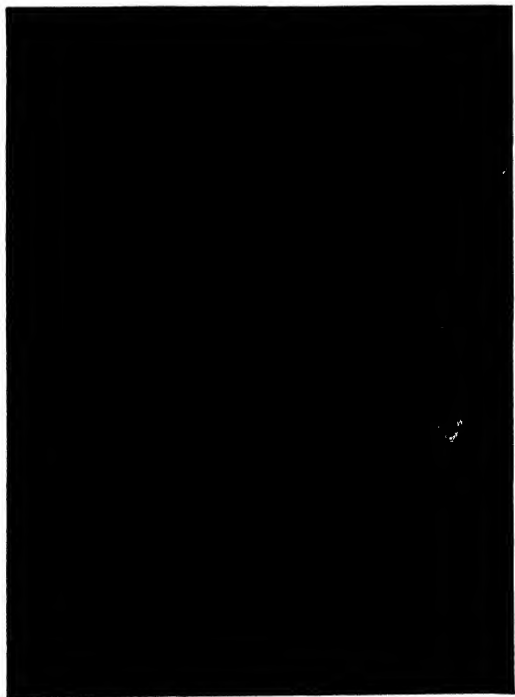
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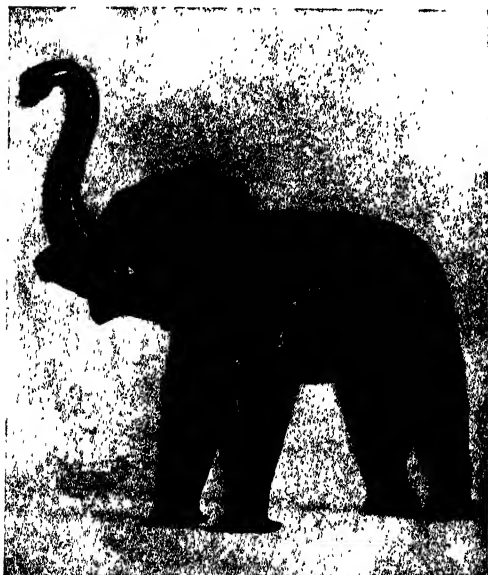
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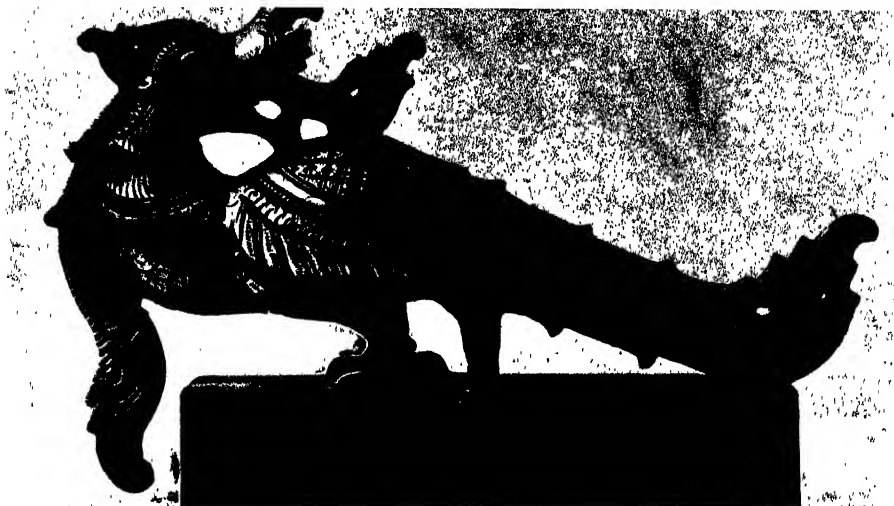
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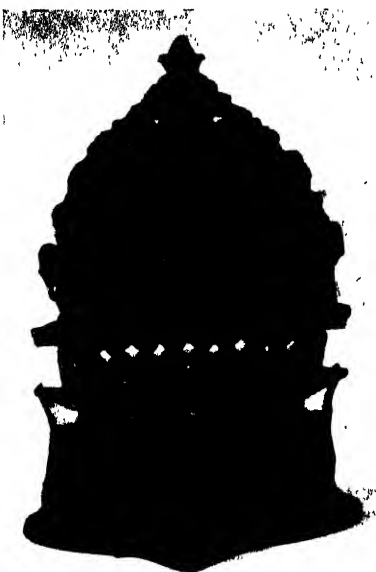
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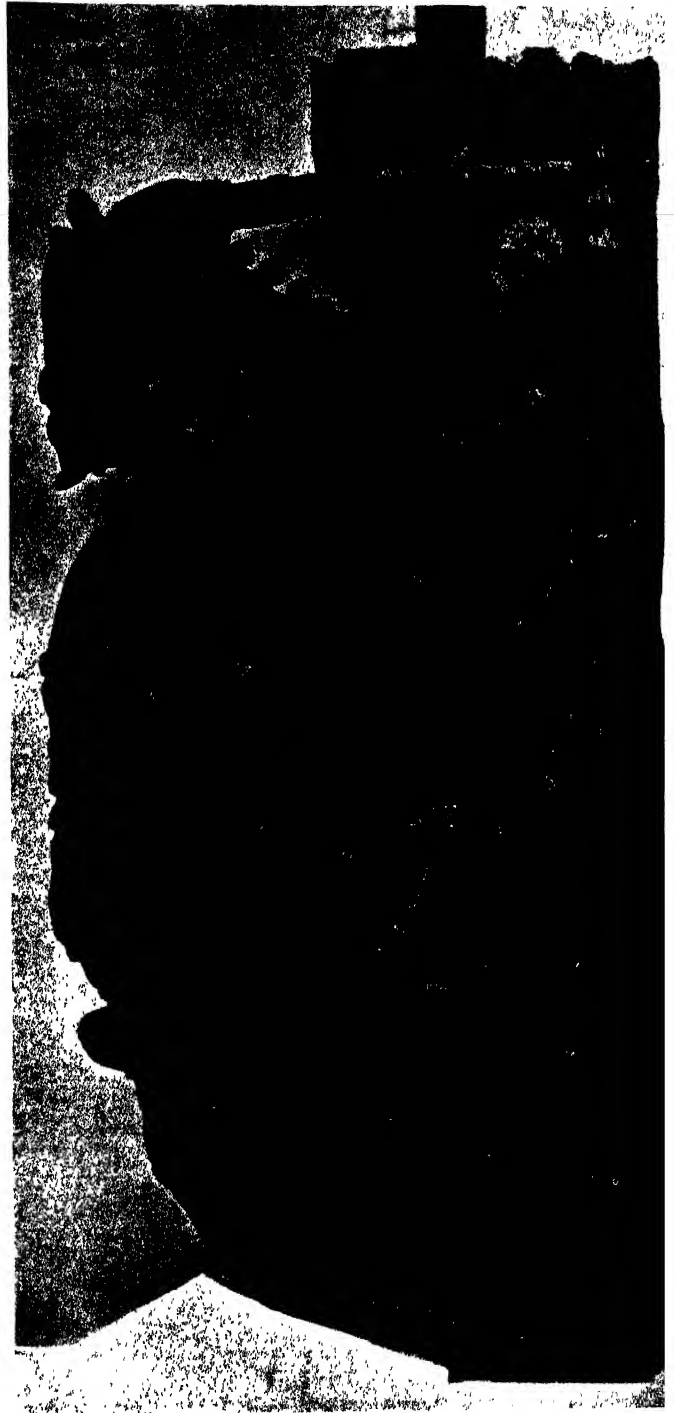
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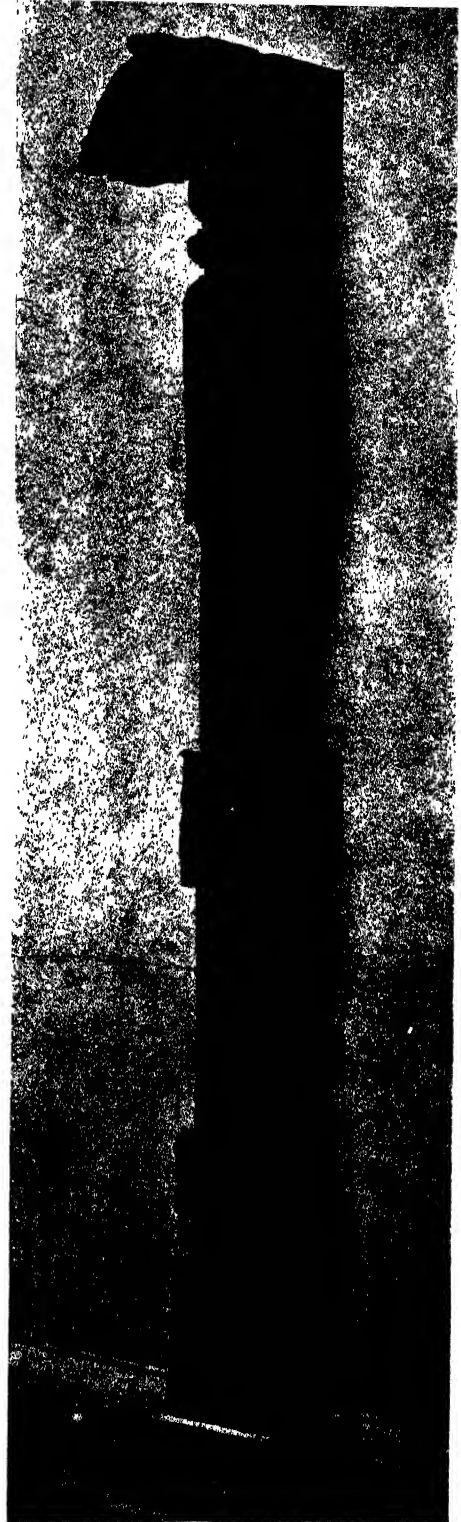
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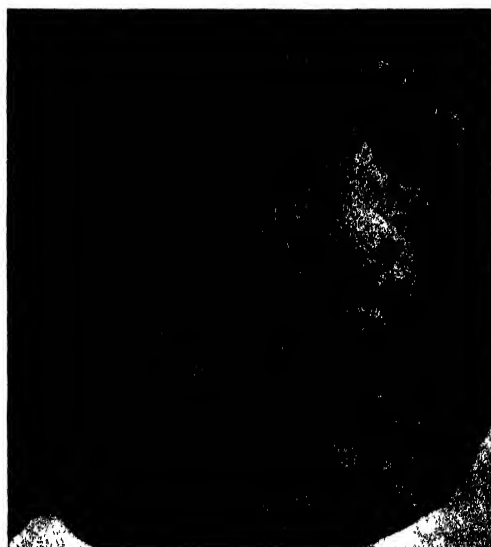
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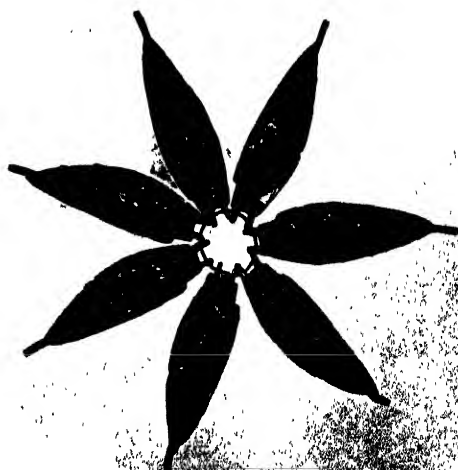
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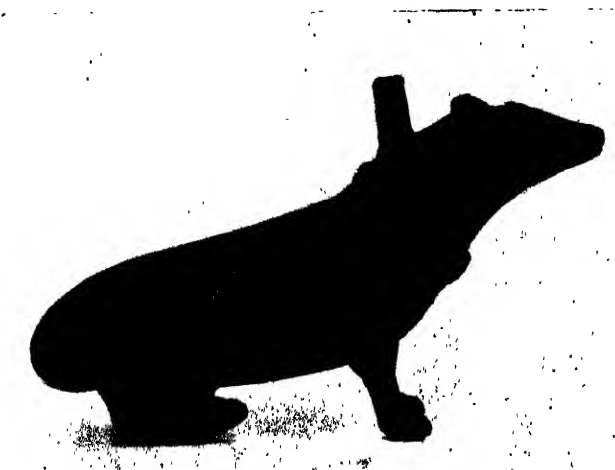
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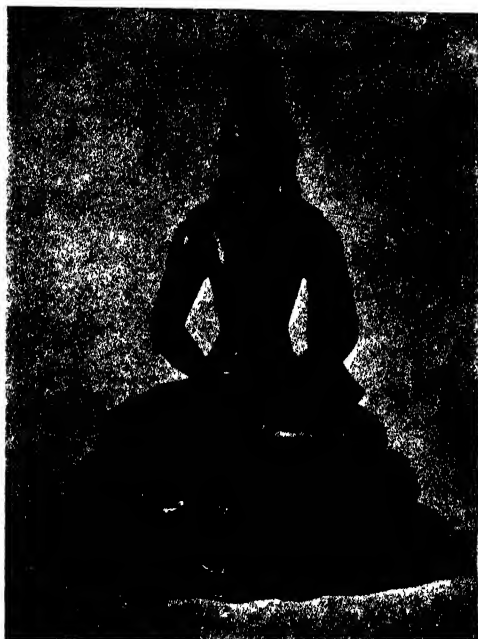
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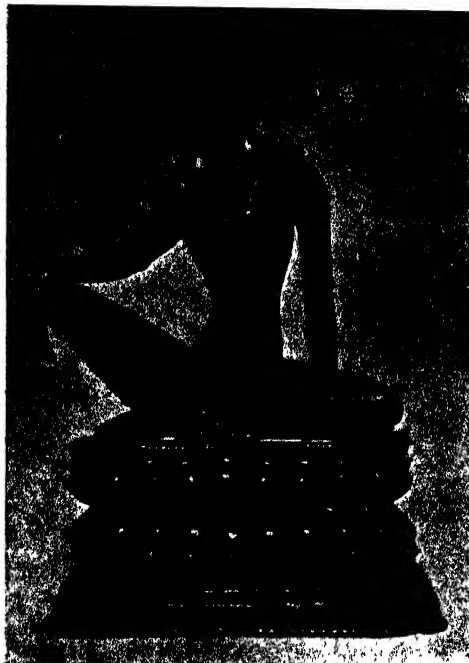
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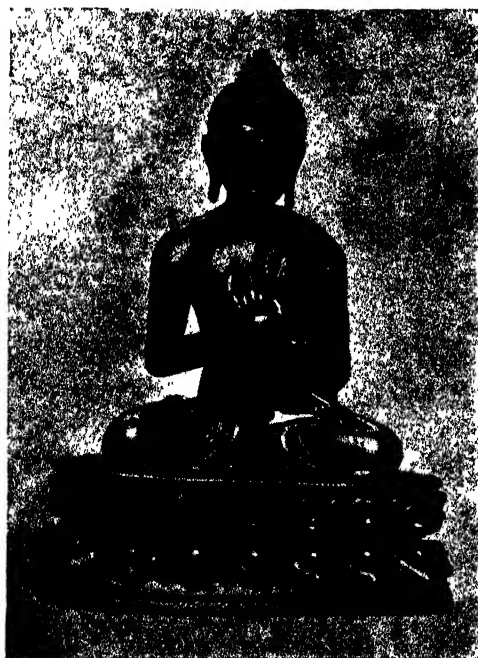
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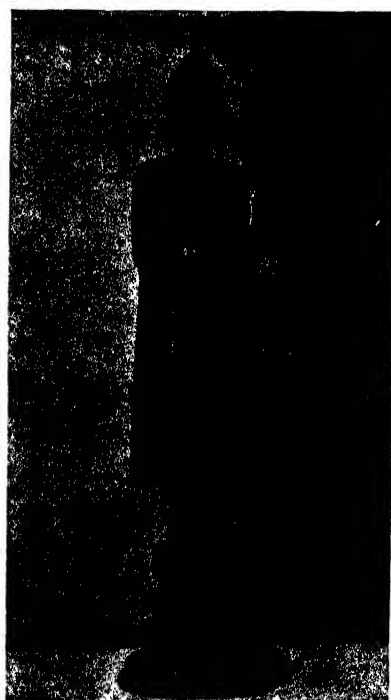
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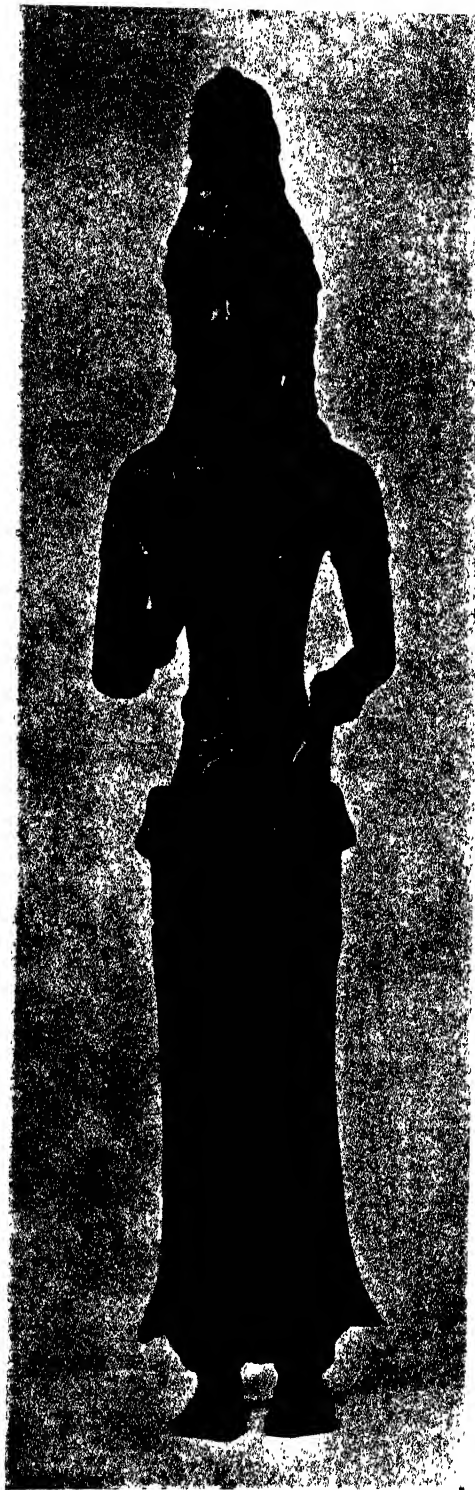
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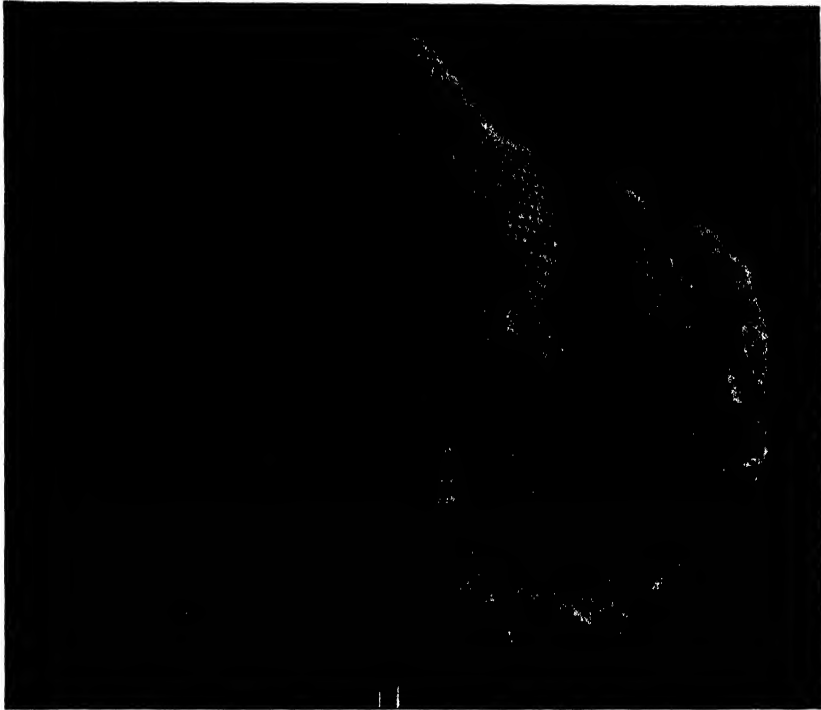
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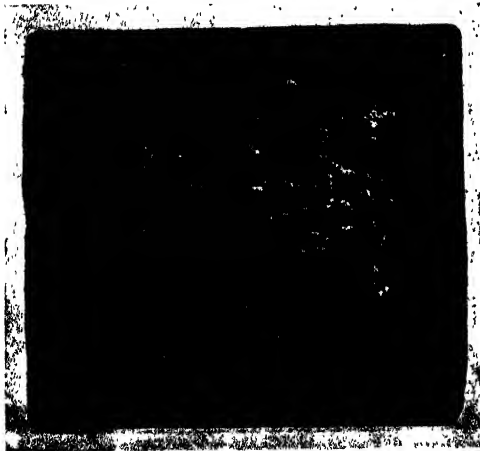
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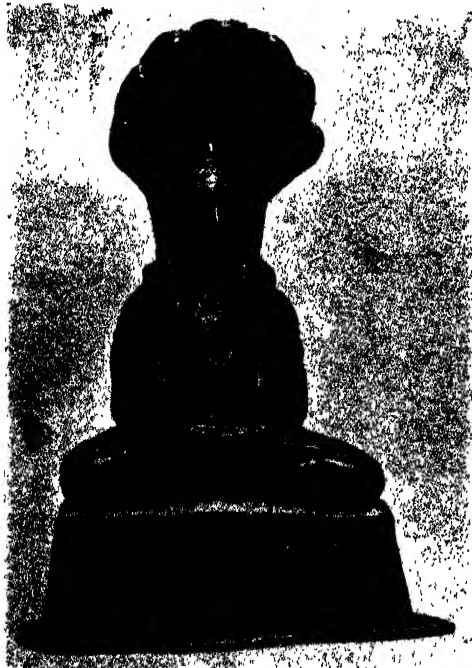
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